Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances

Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy

JOYCE DE VRIES

WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

An **Ashgate** Book

VISIT...

Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances

Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy

JOYCE DE VRIES

WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

An **Ashgate** Book

Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances

Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy

Joyce de Vries

Women and Gender in the Early Modern World

An **Ashgate** Book

Women and Gender in the Early Modern World

Series Editors:
Ally son Poska, The University of Mary Washington, USA
Abby Zanger

The study of women and gender offers some of the most vital and innovative challenges to current scholarship on the early modern period. Now approaching its tenth anniversary, "Women and Gender in the Early Modern World" is an established forum for presenting fresh ideas and original approaches to the field. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in scope, this Ashgate book series strives to reach beyond geographical limitations to explore the experiences of early modern women and the nature of gender in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. We welcome proposals for both single-author volumes and edited collections which expand and develop this continually evolving field of study.

Titles in the series

Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe
Gender, Agency, Identity
Edited by Andrea Pearson

Dominican Women and Renaissance Art
The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa
Ann Roberts

Ottoman Women Builders
The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan
Lucienne Thys-Şenocak

Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580
Negotiating Power
Katherine A. McIver

Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe
Edited by Allison Levy

Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances

Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy

Joyce De Vries
Auburn University, USA

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2010 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2010 Joyce de Vries

Joyce de Vries has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notices:
Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
De Vries, Joyce.
Caterina Sforza and the art of appearances: gender, art and culture in early modern Italy. -- (Women and gender in the early modern world)
1. Sforza, Caterina, 1463-1509. 2. Sforza, Caterina, 1463-1509--Art patronage. 3. Nobility--Italy--Biography. 4. Women--Italy--History--Renaissance, 1450-1600. 5. Italy--Civilization--1268-1559.
I. Title II. Series
945'.05'092-dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Vries, Joyce de.
Caterina Sforza and the art of appearances: gender, art and culture

in early modern
Italy / Joyce de Vires.
p. cm. -- (Women and gender in the early modern world)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-7546-6751-3 (hardcover: alk. paper)
1. Sforza, Caterina, 1463-1509--Art patronage. 2. Renaissance--Italy. I. Title.
II. Title: Gender, art and culture in early modern Italy.

N5273.2.S47V75 2009
709.45'09024--dc22

2009041383

ISBN 9780754667513 (hbk)

Contents

Cover
Half Title
Title
Copyright
Contents
List of Illustrations
List of Abbreviations
Dedication
Acknowledgements
INTRODUCTION
1 CREATING A SPECTACLE

Courtly Ceremony and Ritual in the Italian Renaissance
The Marriage of Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza
Ceremony and the Maintenance of Riario Power
Gender and Public Presentation in Caterina Sforza's Regency
Reversals of Fortune

2 BUILDING MAGNIFICENCE

Renaissance Architecture and the Humanist Ideal of *Magnificenza*
Establishing Authority: The Architectural Projects of Girolamo Riario

Architectural Magnificence in Sistine Rome
A Rome Away From Rome in the Romagna

Maintaining Authority: The Architectural Projects of Caterina Sforza

Residential Projects of "Comfort, Elegance, and Price"
Useful Fortresses

3 SPLENDOR IN THE PRINCELY COURT

Princely Presentation and the Virtue of *Splendore*
Splendor on Display: The Trappings of Ceremony
Staging the Domestic Realm

Silver Goods and Table Service
Fine Textiles
The Palace Chapel and Religious Paraphernalia

Personal Adornment
Accoutrements of the Hunt
Strategies of Collecting
Post-regency Splendor

4 THE CULTIVATION OF MIND AND SPIRIT

Religious Patronage in the Italian Renaissance
The Religious Patronage of Girolamo Riario
Caterina Sforza's Religious Patronage

Burials, a Widow's Duty
The Feo Chapel
Pious Acts

Humanism in the Riario Court
Caterina Sforza's Post-regency Intellectual and Spiritual Patronage

5 THE POLITICAL AFTERLIFE OF CATERINA SFORZA

Caterina Sforza's Last Testament
The Legend of Caterina Sforza in the Renaissance
Caterina Sforza and Italian Nationalism
Caterina Sforza's Role in Feminist and Gender Studies

Bibliography
Index

List of Illustrations

Introduction	
1.1	Family Tree of Caterina Sforza, drawn by Roland Dewitt
1	**Creating a Spectacle**
1.1	Melozzo da Forlì, *Pope Sixtus IV appoints Bartolomeo Platina Prefect of the Vatican Library,* 1477, Pinacoteca, Vatican Museums. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY
1.2	Map of Italy, drawn by Parinya Chukaew
1.3	Detail of the cities along the via Emilia in the Romagna region of Italy, drawn by Parinya Chukaew
1.4	Drawings of coins struck by Girolamo Riario, *c.* 1481; from A. Burriel, Vita di Caterina Sforza (Bologna, 1795), vol. 3, after p. 628. Courtesy ofthe Biblioteca Comunale, Imola
1.5	Unknown artist (Gambello?), *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, c. 1480–84, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum
1.6	Unknown artist (Gambello?), *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, reverse, c. 1480–84, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum
1.7	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, c. 1488, Museo del Bargello, Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Benie le Attività Culturali
1.8	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal*

	of Caterina Sforza, reverse, c. 1488, Museo del Bargello, Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Benie le Attività Culturali
1.9	Piero della Francesca, *Allegorical Triumphs of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza, c.* 1474, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY
1.10	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of King Charles VIII of France,* obverse, c. 1494, Museo del Bargello, Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
1.11	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of King Charles VIII of France,* reverse, c. 1494, Museo del Bargello, Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
1.12	Drawings of coins minted by Caterina Sforza, *c.* 1496 (left) and c. 1499 (right); from A. Burriel, Vita di Caterina Sforza (Bologna, 1795), vol. 3,after p. 628. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Comunale, Imola
1.13	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, obverse, c. 1498, British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum
1.14	Cristoforo Romano, *Portrait medal of Isabella d'Este, c.* 1499. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum
1.15	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Ottaviano Riario,* obverse, c. 1498. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
1.16	Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal*

	of Ottaviano Riario, reverse, c. 1498. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
1.17	Seal of Caterina Sforza, *c.* 1490s, bronze and silver, Inv. Santarelli n. 10500 (discovered in the Rocca of Forlimpopoli in 1854). With the coat of armsof Caterina Sforza Riario; inscription: CAT.OCTA.SF.VIC.DE.IMOLE.AC.FORL. Forlì, Musei civici. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì
1.18	Giovanni Simonetta, *Sforziad,* frontispiece, 1490, Biblioteque nationale de France, Paris. Photo: Bibliotèque nationale de France
2	**Building Magnificence**
2.1	Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza,* woodcut from Jacopo Foresti (Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis), De Plurimis claris sceletis[sic] q[ue] mulieribus (Ferrara, 1497). Photo: Houghton Library, Typ Inc 5762 F
2.2	Plan of Rome, drawn by Parinya Chukaew
2.3	The Palazzo Riario (now palazzo Altemps). Photo by the author
2.4	Reconstruction of the Palazzo Riario, Rome, *c.* 1484 (after F. Scoppola) drawn by Parinya Chukaew
2.5	The Riario-Sforza coat of arms mounted on a ceiling within the Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome. Photo by the author
2.6	The Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome. Photo by the author
2.7	Melozzo da Forlì, Frescoes in the

	Sala dei Notabili, palazzo riario (now palazzo Altemps), rome, *c.* 1477. photo by the author
2.8	Leonardo da Vinci, *Plan of the city of Imola from the Windsor Codex, c.* 1501, Museo Vinciano, Vinci. photo: Scala/Art resource, NY
2.9	Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Sersanti), Imola, 1470s–80s. photo by the author
2.10	The Rocca Sforzesco, Imola. Photo by the author
2.11	Frescoes with the Riario-Sforza coats of arms within the south tower of the Rocca Sforzesco, Imola. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
2.12	Plan of Forlì, drawn by Parinya Chukaew
2.13	Giuseppe Missirini, *The Palazzo Pubblico of Forlì viewed from the bell tower of San Mercuriale,* 1798, BCFo, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Stampee Disegni, Albume Forlì VI, fol. 6. photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì
2.14	The Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì. Photo by the author
2.15	Plan of the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì (after L. Marinelli), drawn by Parinya Chukaew
2.16–2.22 The della Robbia workshop, floor tiles with motifs and friezes of cornucopias, bouquets of fruit, and geometric and floral decorations,from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496, glazed and painted terracotta (maiolica), Forlì, Museo delle Ceramiche. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì	

2.23	The della Robbia workshop, pavement of the Chapel of the Company of San Lorenzo in the Collegiata di Sant'Andrea, Empoli, 1475. photo by Angela Dressen
2.24	The Fortress at Forlimpopoli. Photo by the author
2.25	The Fortress at Bagnara di Romagna. Photo by the author
3	**Splendor in the Princely Court**
3.1	Giulio Romano, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche,* 1532–34, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY
3.2	Silver-gilt salt cellar, Italy, *c.* 1530, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.3	Gold brocade, gilt metal with enamel and nielloed silver girdle, Italy, 15th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.4	Melozzo da Forlì, detail of the fresco in the Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome. Photo by the author
3.5	Silver-gilt ewer and basin, Venice, *c.* 1580, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.6	Chalcedony glass *tazza* (cup) with Riario-Sforza coat of arms, Venice, c. 1470s, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: © V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London
3.7	Ceramic bowl with Riario coat of

	arms, *c.* 1474–84, Musei Civici, Rocca Sforzesca, Imola. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
3.8	Ceramic bowl with Riario coat of arms, *c.* 1474-84, Musei Civici, Rocca Sforzesca, Imola. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
3.9	Unknown miniaturist, frontispiece with Caterina Sforza's coat of arms, *Odes of Horace,* Milan, *c.* before 1448. Photo: Austrian National Library,Vienna, Picture Archive, Cod. 145, fol. 1r
3.10	The della Robbia workshop, pavement for Alberto III Pio's chapel within his palace at Carpi, 1495–1500. Photo by Angela Dressen
3.11	Brass perfume burner, pierced, engraved and silver damascened with black lacquer infill, Venice, late 15th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London
4	**The Cultivation of Mind and Spirit**
4.1	Plan of the Cathedral of Imola, *c.* 1500, drawn by parinya Chukaew
4.2	The Cathedral of Forlì. Photo by the author
4.3	Unknown stonecarver of the 15th century, *The coat of arms of Girolamo Riario,* from the Cathedral of Forlì, *c.* 1480s, pink marble from Verona,diam. 81 cm, Inv. n. 1429, Forlì, Pinacoteca civica. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì

4.4	Unknown stonecarver of the 15th century, *The coat of arms of Caterina Sforza,* from the Cathedral of Forlì, *c*. 1480s, pink marble from Verona,diam. 81 cm, Inv. n. 1430, Forlì, Pinacoteca civica. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì
4.5	San Mercuriale, Forlì. Photo by the author
4.6	Melozzo da Forlì and Marco Palmezzano, dome of the Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in San Biagio, Forlì, *c.* 1495. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource,NY
4.7	Marco Palmezzano, *Martyrdom of Saint James,* Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in San Biagio, Forlì, *c*. 1495. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì
4.8	Marco Palmezzano, *Posthumous Miracle of Saint James the Greater,* Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in San Biagio, Forlì, *c*. 1495. Photo: Alinari/ArtResource, NY
4.9	Plan of the Cathedral of Forlì, drawn by Parinya Chukaew
4.10	Madonna del Piratello, Imola. Photo by the author
4.11	*Hercules battling a Centaur,* colophon (sig. e4v) in Nicolò Ferretti, *De elegantia linguae latiniae servanda in epistolis et orationibus componendis*(Forlì, 1495), call n. 43538, Huntington Library, San Marino. Photo:reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino,California
5	**The Political Afterlife of Caterina Sforza**
5.1	Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of*

	Caterina Sforza, obverse, 16th century, Inv. 425, Galleria Franchetti alla Ca' d'oro, Venice. photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i beni e le Attività Culturali
5.2	Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse (version one), 16th century, Inv. 425, Galleria Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, Venice. Photo:courtesy of the Ministero per i beni e le Attività Culturali
5.3	Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse (version two), 16th century, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo:Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY
5.4	Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza, c.* 1559, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY
5.5	Lorenzo Vaiani, called lo Sciorina, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de 'Medici,* 1584–85, Galleria degli Uffizi (Serieaulica), Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
5.6	Jacopo Pontormo, *Portrait of Maria Salviati,* 1437–43, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY
5.7	Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, 1739, Museo del Bargello, Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e leAttività Culturali
5.8	Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, reverse (version one), 1739, Museo del Bargello,

	Florence. Photo: courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
5.9	Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, reverse (version two), 1739, Munzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: BildarchivPreussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY
5.10	Francesco Allegrini, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza*, Plate 18 from Chronologica series simulacrorum regiae familiae Mediceae centum expressa toreumis (Florence, 1761). Photo: National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC. David K E Bruce Fund
5.11	Marco Palmezzano, *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints, c.* 1480, San Biagio in San Girolamo, Forlì. Photo: Marco Vignazia, courtesy of Graficamente, srl, Forlì
5.12	Piero di Cosimo, *Portrait of a Woman*, *c.* 1500–10, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attivitàculturali/Art Resource, NY
5.13	Lorenzo di Credi (Florence, *c.* 1460–1537), Portrait of a Young Woman with Jasmine, 1485–90, oil on panel, 77.2 x 55.2 cm, Inv. n. 119, Forlì,Musei San Domenico, Pinacoteca civica. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Civici di Forlì
5.14	Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza, c.* 19th century, Biblioteca Comunale, Imola. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola
5.15	Unknown artist, *Portrait of a woman, c.* 19th century, Biblioteca

Comunale, Faenza. Photo: Courtesy of the Biblioteca Comunale, Faenza

5.16 Dario Gobbi, *The Capture of Caterina Sforza,* 1914, Rocca Sforzesca, Imola. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Civici di Imola

List of Abbreviations

ASF Archivio di Stato, Florence
ASFo Archivio di Stato, Forlì
ASMa Archivio di Stato, Mantua
ASMi Archivio di Stato, Milan
ASMo Archivio di Stato, Modena
ASN Archivio di Stato, Naples
ASR Archivio di Stato, Rome
BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BNCF Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence
MAP Fondo Mediceo avanti il Principato (ASF)

To my parents

Acknowledgements

I have thoroughly enjoyed working on Caterina Sforza, who, as many have known before me, is a lively and nuanced character and whose life and legacy have proven to be rich resources to learn about the past. This book has been over a decade in the making, and I have incurred many debts during its production. I am pleased to be able to thank the many people and institutions that enabled my work.

I am honored to have received support for this project from the College of Liberal Arts and the Department of Art at Auburn University; the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Grand Valley State University; the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence; the Graduate College and the Department of Art at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and the National Endowment for the Humanities. (Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this book do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.) I am grateful to have received a Millard Meiss Publication Grant from the College Art Association to assist with the costs of publishing the illustrations herein.

I could not have completed the research for this book without assistance from the helpful staffs of many archives, libraries, and museums. In particular, thanks go to the staffs of the Biblioteca "A. Saffi," Forlì; the Biblioteca Comunale, Imola; the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome; the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence; the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; the Fondo Piancastelli, Forlì; the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence: and the Österreichisch National Bibliotek, Vienna. I would also like to express my gratitude to the archivists at the State Archives of Milan, Modena, Mantua, Forlì, Florence, Rome, and Naples; and the curators and staffs of the British Museum, London; the *Münzkabinett* of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin; the Musei Civici, Imola; the Musei Civici, Forlì, especially Flora Fiorini; and the Museo del Bargello and the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

I am also indebted to the many people who offered their insights on the project. While I was in Italy completing the initial stage of research, Silvia Borsotti, Valentina Conticelli, Francesca Pasut, and Mary and Daniele Zavani all enriched my experience with their friendship and expertise on Italian art and culture. Jennifer Barrows, Richard Betts, Peter Fritzsche, Dianne Harris, Anne D. Hedeman,

Karen Hewitt, Giles Knox, Robert Ousterhout, and Jeryldene Wood all commented on early drafts. Along the way, Arne Flaten shared with me his expertise on portrait medals; Allison Levy, Caroline Murphy, and Patricia Simons offered me sage guidance regarding the study of women in the Renaissance; and Megan Holmes encouraged me to pursue the networks among Caterina's descendents. Katherine Dressel and Richard Martin provided me with places to stay and hot meals when I first began writing; and Buddy Boyd, Jane Goldberg, and Betsy Kittle enriched my life with their warm friendship. Colleagues at Auburn and Grand Valley State Universities provided an intellectual environment that fostered the development of this project; my appreciation goes to Donna Bohanan, Barb Bondy, Susan Braden, Grace Coolidge, Allyson Comstock, Mark Graham, David McGee, Cedar Nordbye, and Giovanna Summerfield. Both Katherine McIver and Jacqueline Musacchio deserve special thanks for support they have given me over the years; both read drafts, encouraged my work, and provided me with crucial advice about publishing. The anonymous readers of the manuscript offered invaluable comments that have allowed me to improve this book considerably. I am grateful to Angela Dressen, who granted me the use of some of her personal photographs in this book. I appreciate the attention to detail shown by Parinya Chukaew, who drew the maps and diagrams for the book, and Roland Dewitt and John Hosmer, who digitized many of the photographs. And a big thank you goes to Erika Gaffney, whose patience and encouragement is well-known among her authors at Ashgate Publishing. I could not have completed this book without the support and assistance of these friends and colleagues.

Finally I would like to thank my parents, Rimmer and Ruth de Vries, for their continued encouragement, as well as to my brother and his family. My sister Jacqueline de Vries, a historian of modern women's history, especially cheered me on in this project, and my brother-in-law, Timothy Jones, a medievalist, provided me with a critical read of the entire manuscript and helped me translate Latin mottos; my gratitude to both of them. Above all, I am most grateful to Joe Perry, who read numerous drafts of this book at all its stages, gave me critical and crucial feedback, and constantly encouraged me over the many years of this project; I could never have completed this book without his insights and support.

Introduction

Attaining and maintaining power among the elite in Early Modern Italy required a high level of engagement in cultural activities. Nobles led splendid lifestyles, commissioned works of art and architecture, and embellished their homes with lavish decorations to demonstrate their beneficent, pious, intelligent, and therefore authoritative personae. This book investigates the cultural endeavors of one such noble, Caterina Sforza (1462/63–1509), and explores the ways gender and culture were central to the invention of the self in Renaissance Italy. Like most of her peers, Caterina was fully aware that the visual world—encompassing not only art but also spectacle and performance—offered a significant means to exercise power in the princely courts. She participated in civic and religious ritual, commissioned works of art and architecture, collected elaborate clothing, jewels, and household furnishings, and supported intellectual and religious endeavors as she mediated the social and gender norms of her times. Through these activities. Caterina reinvented herself in the different phases of her life as wife, mother, widow, and regent, and her own self-fashioning continues to shape her legendary status.[1]

Caterina Sforza earned renown among her contemporaries for her regency rule over the provincial fiefs of Imola and Forlì in the Romagna region of Italy. The illegitimate daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the extravagant Duke of Milan, Caterina married Girolamo Riario, a favorite nephew of the great patron Pope Sixtus IV, in 1477. She thus learned the value of pomp and pageantry in two of the richest courts of the Italian peninsula. Her life took a dramatic turn when Girolamo was brutally assassinated in 1488 and she seized control of his territories, which she ruled as regent for her young son for the next twelve years. During this time, Caterina transformed herself from dutiful wife to loyal widow and determined regent. She effectively suppressed numerous conspiracies against her rule and managed to minimize the destruction of her territories during Charles VIII of France's invasion of Italy. Caterina's performance as a powerful ruler was so successful that she was able to maintain illicit relationships with male lovers, and even bore children by two of them, Giacomo Feo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici. These men provided her with more than companionship, pleasure, and offspring—they offered new political alliances that helped her build

autonomy from the Sforza and Riario agendas. Unfortunately, these connections did not save her from the attacks of the son of Pope Alexander VI, Cesare Borgia, who conquered her territories in 1500. Caterina plotted with her sons and allies to regain the family territories in the following years, to no avail. She lived the remainder of her life in Florence, where she worked to improve the social and political status of her family through the advancement of the patrimony, education, and careers of her sons, especially her youngest, Giovanni de' Medici. A legend in her own time because of her valiant rule, Caterina's reputation blossomed further after her death. In the early sixteenth century. Niccolò Machiavelli called attention to her willingness to transgress proper gender roles and sexuality in her voracious quest for power.[2] Her Medici descendants, who ruled Florence and Tuscany for over two centuries, took a different tack and emphasized her status as a loyal widow and mother. Even so, the heroic version of Caterina, the woman who stopped at nothing to attain and maintain power, has dominated her biography since the late eighteenth century, when she became an icon in the emerging Italian nationalist movement.

This book seeks to complicate that heroic image of Caterina. It shifts the focus away from her overtly political actions when faced with conflict and opposition and examines instead the more subtle political maneuverings that she achieved through a lifetime of patronage and collecting, and participation in cultural endeavors. Caterina's cultivation of a noble lifestyle was as important to her statecraft as her official rhetoric and diplomatic alliances, and she is an ideal subject for an examination of how cultural practices, nuanced by gender, shaped power in elite Renaissance society. Constructing gender was always a fluid performance, as Caterina's life suggests. She pushed the boundaries of acceptable feminine behavior when she kept lovers in her court. But her success as regent hinged upon the manipulation of the social norms of noble women. Though Caterina participated in masculine endeavors—during her regency, for example, she raised and led armies and built fortresses—she maintained a public persona as a virtuous lady through proper dress, comportment, and portraiture.

The dramatic twists and turns of her biography cause Caterina to stand out among her peers. Yet her self-presentation through ritual performances, patronage, and other cultural endeavors were like those of other elite women. This book argues that she was not an exception to her sex, as Joan Kelly suggested in her famous article "Did Women

have a Renaissance?".[3] Drawing upon biographical information found in literary sources, Kelly concluded that women's status and legal rights actually worsened in Europe during the Early Modern period. For Kelly, Caterina Sforza was the exception that proved this rule. She asserted that Caterina's unique and forceful personality was the main reason for her success as ruler in a time when women rarely wielded political power. Kelly used this evidence to question the era's classification as the "Renaissance" when most women and everyone but the elite were not able to enjoy the social and cultural advances that the term suggests.

Kelly's general argument over issues of periodization was important for the reassessment of historical categories and the development of interest in women's roles in the Early Modern period. She was quite right to point out that "Renaissance" advances were not shared equally by all segments of society. But the situation was more complex than her literary sources suggested. Since the publication of Kelly's article, scholars have found numerous examples of Early Modern women's voices in historical documents such as letters, chronicles, account books, inventories, and wills.[4] They have expanded their analysis beyond the political elite.[5] Women from all levels of society exercised their own agency as consumers, educators, and leaders within families, courts, convents, and cities. Women in the Italian aristocracy were particularly successful in wielding power. Caterina and women like her, such as Eleonora of Aragon, Isabella d'Este, Lucrezia Borgia, and a host of lesser-knowns, actively engaged in the cultural practices crucial to fashioning their status as wives, regents, and courtiers in the tempestuous terrain of the princely courts. In pursuit of familial and personal glory, these women constructed social bodies literally through carefully chosen costume and behavior and metaphorically through artistic and cultural patronage. So while Caterina's twelve years as regent remain impressive, she was not the only woman who was able to wield power. The shift in sources beyond literature, to include archival documents as well as material objects and visual culture, facilitates a more complex view of women's roles in the Renaissance court. New sources and approaches expand our understanding of the ways people could express their agency in the Early Modern period.

The move to a more nuanced gender history of the Renaissance gains energy from the recent transformation of the traditional biography. Studies of individuals no longer follow the centuries-old formula of an omniscient authorial voice relating a great life. Drawing

upon a new range of theory and techniques, they now explore the multi-faceted and complex forces that operate in and around their subjects. These transformed biographies have much to offer historical studies, especially in regard to gender and its performance, because they emphasize that individuals invent themselves within their own cultural context, not outside of it.[6] As Jo Burr Margadant explains, "often the unconventional [personality] is a collage of familiar notions merged in unfamiliar ways." The goal of the new biography is not to create a definitive or even coherent story, but "rather a self that is performed to create an impression of coherence or an individual with multiple selves whose different manifestations reflect the passage of time, the demands and options of different settings, or the varieties of ways that others seek to represent that person."[7] While this book is not a biography per se, it contains components of biography within it. Caterina's story of patronage, collecting, and building makes little sense without some biographical grounding. Yet, I emphasize the fragmentary nature of this endeavor because first, extant sources do not allow for a fully accurate reconstruction of life's myriad activities, and second, we now understand that self-fashioning takes place through a series of ever-changing performances geared toward varying situations.

Caterina was and continues to be famous for her political office—regent of Imola and Forlì. She has never been known as a patron of the arts and culture. I chose to work on her because of her political fame, and made a large assumption: that anyone who ruled, whether male or female, participated in extensive patronage and cultural practices. As my research progressed, I found that the types of projects she undertook were certainly in keeping with her position as ruler, but several issues have hindered their study. Many of her commissions are difficult to assess because the objects were lost or, in the case of her architectural projects, altered far beyond their fifteenth-century state. Perhaps more importantly, most fell outside modern conceptions of the definition of high art. For some time, historians of Italian art and patronage have recognized painting, sculpture, and architecture as the most important mediums to signal a serious patron and collector. Paintings, especially those executed by famous artists, have taken precedence in patronage studies in part because they often contain complex iconographies that grant insight into the patron. Although documentary evidence proves that Caterina Sforza and her husband had certainly been patrons of art and culture, no great paintings executed by now-well-known artists are securely associated with

them. Instead, their collections included vast quantities of silver plate, tapestries, fine clothing, and jewels. Items like these fall into a category that was almost dismissively called the decorative or minor arts for over a century, an injustice because they were actually fundamental to the princely interior and often constituted the majority of elite commissions and collections. Indeed, these types of objects have experienced a surge of scholarly interest since the 1990s, as demonstrated in the research of Marta Ajmar, Thomas Campbell, Mary Hollingsworth, Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, Luke Syson, and Dora Thornton, among many others, and major exhibitions at the J. Paul Getty, Victoria and Albert, Metropolitan, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner museums.[8]

By exploring a range of visual and material culture, including ritual practices, this study attempts to recreate Early Modern Italian culture in a comprehensive fashion. To provide a more thorough view of Caterina's cultural practices, I read the extant visual evidence of portraits, medals, paintings, ceramics, and fortresses in the context of archival texts, including hundreds of letters to, from, and regarding Caterina, and numerous inventories and contemporary chronicles of her court.[9] Ambassadorial letters, for example, often assess and interpret the visual details of a ruler's performance, such as dress and surroundings, and this evidence suggests that nobles read these components of display culture as works of both art and political practice. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist and prescriptive literature by authors such as Leon Battista Alberti, Niccolò Machiavelli, Giovanni Pontano, and Girolamo Savonarola confirms the importance of maintaining appearances, leading a princely life, and adhering to gender mores. Taken together, these specific and more contextual sources deliver a rich body of evidence for Caterina Sforza's self-invention.

The study of Caterina's cultural practices furthermore provides new information on courts and culture outside of well-cited artistic and political centers and presents a look into the practices of a patron with limited financial resources. Scholars of the Italian Renaissance have largely focused on the most talented artists and their patrons, typically elite men who resided in the wealthy urban centers of Florence or Rome or who dominated a major princely court such as Milan or Ferrara.[10] While these are fundamental explorations of patronage systems and taste, they overlook the majority of artistic production. The study of provincial and less-wealthy patrons and collectors offers indispensable information on culture and consumption and the

relationship between periphery and center; without these our understanding of Renaissance patronage is fragmented at best. Caterina and her husband Girolamo Riario certainly tried to bring Milanese, Roman, and Florentine trends to Imola and Forlì, but they also had to negotiate local traditions and styles. Gender constrained Caterina's regency finances, largely because as a woman she could not serve as a military commander, a lucrative means for most princes to supplement their income, but she developed strategies to stretch her tight budget. She ordered serially-produced goods from artistic centers and called for community support of expensive princely commissions, topics rarely considered by scholars working on male patrons with seemingly endless resources.[11] Caterina's careful choices suggest the basic visual apparatus that less-wealthy rulers acquired for their courts and demonstrate the creative ways in which Renaissance nobles, male or female, formulated their cultural policies.

In addition, information on Caterina and her family's collections adds to the literature on consumption practices in Early Modern Europe. Studies of patronage, the decorative arts, and material culture understandably concern the consumption of goods—objects were produced and consumed in distinct ways. Scholars have made the case for a direct relationship between the systems of production and acquisition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and those of our present consumer society.[12] But some of these developments are even more long-standing. There is a small but growing body of evidence that suggests modern consumption practices, such as the use of credit and serial production, were either emerging or in place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the Italian peninsula.[13] Renaissance Italians often kept precise accounts of their goods, and Caterina was no different. Because of the fluctuations in her political and financial status, numerous documents outline not just the contents of her collections, but also the ways she acquired and dispersed them.

Throughout this book I argue that questions of gender are necessary for an analysis of princely presentation. Studies of Renaissance court culture once tended to depict women as mere vehicles for the aspirations of their husbands. Wives' presentation did indeed reflect upon their husbands' status, but elite men and women alike participated in cultural endeavors to build their personal and familial reputations. Circumstances often limited the ability of women to achieve the same goals as their male counterparts because of marriage and inheritance laws. Nonetheless, noble women like Caterina Sforza and her contemporaries Isabella d'Este, Elisabetta

Gonzaga, and Lucrezia Borgia promoted themselves through princely presentation that included carefully chosen clothing, elaborately embellished living and reception areas, commissions of art, support of intellectuals, and participation in public events.[14] The goal of noble women was the same as that of their male counterparts: to appear great in the present and to build a legacy that would reflect their achievements for posterity. In the case of female regents, the masculine role they took on with their position of rulership in many ways overruled typical constraints on proper, modest female behavior. Women who served as regents functioned as surrogate men. They acted as the head of the household, the family, and the state, and they behaved accordingly. As rulers rather than consorts, their aspirations to a splendid lifestyle were therefore quite politically charged. Their self-fashioning necessarily combined the prescribed behavior of both men and women. For this reason, the book explores the patronage of Caterina's husband, Girolamo Riario. His commissions provide a counterpoint to Caterina's, and allow the reader to compare examples of male and female patronage within one court and consider the various factors that affected their choices.

The question remains: was Caterina a great patron? The answer depends on how we define greatness in this context. She may never achieve the reputation of Isabella d'Este, whose patronage is well known and respected from evidence provided by both impressive extant artifacts and abundant archival documents. The fact is, Isabella's exacting specifications for commissions survive to tell us about her zeal and precision in amassing her collection and we can see the results in the works themselves. Caterina's case was very different. She ruled for twelve years as a regent, which meant she oversaw large architectural projects within her territories, including urban improvements, territorial defenses, and residential refurbishments. These were quite public and expensive endeavors. In addition, she was the primary representative of her family's court, and was responsible for maintaining a high level of appearances in both personal dress and domestic furnishing. In these ways, her patronage surpasses that of Isabella. But many of Caterina's commissions are lost or dramatically altered, as is the case with most of the architecture. She sold or pawned a significant portion of her own and her family's moveable goods over the years of her regency to raise money. She retained many other items, but most eventually disappeared. Caterina lost control of the Riario territories and the family never regained them, and she did not have the stability to preserve what was left of her

possessions in their entirety. What she still had with her at the end of her life passed into her descendents' collections, in particular Giovanni de' Medici's. But by this time Caterina's possessions largely consisted of decorative pieces, such as paintings, portrait medals, and tapestries, and practical items, such as clothing, household linens, and cooking paraphernalia, all of which could pass out of fashion or wear out from use and, in both cases, be discarded or reworked. Yet archival sources such as inventories, diplomatic correspondence, and drawings contain ample records of this now-vanished material and suggest that Caterina's patronage was in fact extensive. Known for her political cunning, she also proved to be equally sophisticated and pragmatic in cultural endeavors. Caterina harnessed the power of images and objects, rituals and ceremonies, and spirituality and intellect to create a formidable persona that served her needs and those of others after her death. For these reasons, the answer might be yes: Caterina Sforza was a great—astute, intelligent, and pragmatic—patron.

The book begins with an analysis of the overtly public events and monuments associated with Caterina and moves toward the more exclusive spaces of the domestic interior and the life of the mind. The first chapter opens with an exploration of Caterina's most visible persona, the self-image she presented during the public events and rituals that structured courtly life in Renaissance Italy. Political pageants, triumphal entries, and religious processions were fundamental to the exercise of power and Caterina's biography is rich with performances at key moments: her marriage, her husband's expansion of his territories, and her triumph as regent, her downfall, and her death. Through these displays, her peers and subjects could glimpse the regal persona she cultivated throughout her life. Artifacts associated with these performances, such as portrait medals and coins, reinforced her public image in a more permanent manner. With a review of the turning points of her life, this chapter also presents Caterina's biographical narrative that will guide the reader through the book.

The next two chapters concern the architecture of the Riario court and its decoration and embellishment. Chapter 2 offers an analysis of Caterina's architectural commissions and their symbolic import; here again the visual was a formidable means to manufacture identity. Caterina oversaw projects for residential, civic, and military buildings that both represented and insured her ruling power. While her husband Girolamo Riario carried out vast architectural projects to establish his princely authority, Caterina as regent expended her more

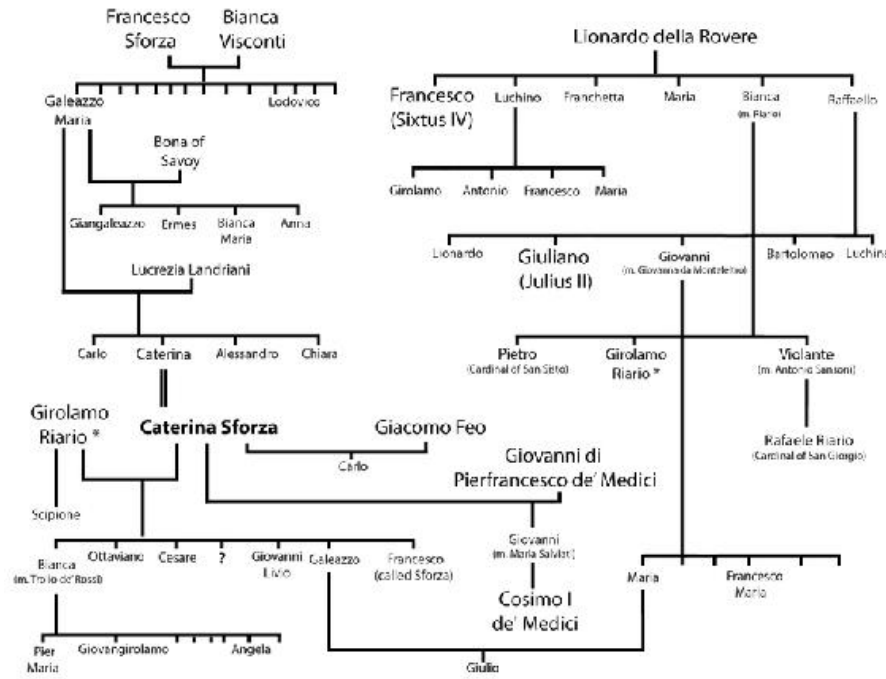
limited financial resources on residential projects and defenses that could maintain the family's position. This chapter concludes that Caterina aspired to the ideal of magnificence in her architectural projects, as was appropriate to her position as regent, but that her achievements were curtailed by her financial situation and the necessity of repeatedly refortifying her territories to defend against conspiracies and invasions. Chapter 3 takes the reader indoors to explore Caterina's collections of expensive furnishings, tapestries, metal plate, sumptuous clothes, books, jewels, and other accoutrements. To those who entered her court, the display of exquisite decorative and practical items demonstrated how Caterina pursued the humanist virtue of *splendore*. Behind the scenes, though, those items often served as collateral for loans. Eventually Caterina liquidated many of them. Several inventories chart the dispersal of goods and reveal her choices of what to keep. This chapter suggests that the goal of noble women was similar to that of their male counterparts: to appear elegant, and thus powerful, and to forge socio-political bonds through gifting, collecting, commissioning, and displaying beautiful decorative objects.

Chapter 4 examines Caterina's support of religious, intellectual, and scientific activities, all important to a ruler's beneficence. Throughout her life, Caterina demonstrated her faith and commitment to the Church. As ruler, she affirmed local traditions with her endowment of the cathedrals and popular shrines in her territories. She also took a special interest in female convents, and after her regency, maintained a cell within one convent for her personal spiritual retreat. Her intellectual interests went beyond the religious, though, and she supported humanism and even public education in her territories. She was well known for her interests in astronomy, and sponsored experiments to develop beauty potions, cures, poisons, and, more ambitiously, alchemical solutions. During a period that nurtured the rise of new forms of knowledge and its reconciliation with tradition. Caterina's intellectual and spiritual patronage was essential to the exercise of her political authority.

The book concludes by tracing the appropriation and manipulation of Caterina's legend after her death. Caterina tried to structure her legacy through a last testament, but her posthumous legend was nevertheless reinvented at three key stages of Italian history: first by Renaissance figures, such as Niccolò Machiavelli and the Medici Grand Dukes, then by Italian nationalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and finally by writers and scholars of the late twentieth-

and early twenty-first centuries. She has been, and continues to be, the subject of exemplary histories, novels, poems, plays, posthumous portraits, and even an anime series. This chapter scrutinizes the motivations and meanings of these reinventions of Caterina and uses her on-going legend as a lens to examine changing notions of "Renaissance Italy."

Caterina Sforza is historically famous for her bold political statecraft and not her involvement with the arts and culture, but she was in fact an astute patron of a wide-range of artistic, architectural, and spiritual projects. Her commissions were an integral part of her diplomacy as regent of the Riario territories, and she was able, despite financial limitations, to sponsor cultural projects large and small. She updated fortresses and made key improvements within her subject cities; refurbished her residence to make it reflect the proper character of a prince; commissioned decorative pieces from workshops championing cost-effective production; and called on community support for religious projects to harness the faith of the people and demonstrate her own piety. With rulership came the responsibility of maintaining a princely lifestyle and commissioning appropriate works, and Caterina well understood that self-fashioning required sophisticated patronage strategies. I suspect that, as the body of research on female patrons expands, scholars will continue to rethink the workings of politics and power in the Renaissance. We will learn more about other women who commissioned projects and acquired objects, sometimes seemingly inconsequential, but nevertheless central to the production of self and culture in Early Modern Italy.



I.1 Family Tree of Caterina Sforza

Notes

1 For self-fashioning, see the fundamental study by S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980). For the concept of self-fashioning through artistic patronage, see D. Kent, *Cosimo de'Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oenvre* (New Haven, CT, 2000), and, for queenly self-fashioning, see S. ffolliott, "Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow," in M.W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N.J. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 227–41.

2 J.L. Hairston, "Skirting the Issue: Machiavelli's Caterina Sforza," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53/3 (2000): 687–712.

3 J. Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women have a Renaissance?" in R. Bridenthal, C. Koontz, S. Stuard (eds). *Becoming Visible; Women in European History* (Boston, 1987), pp. 185–89. The literature on women and gender in the Italian Renaissance has been rapidly increasing since Kelly's initial questioning. For further bibliography, see R.C. Davis, "Suggested Further Readings," in J.C. Brown and R.C. Davis (eds) *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Harlow, 1998), pp. 34–49.

4 See for instance, M.L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 157–64; S.L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2002); and C. Murphy, *The Pope's Daughter* (New York, 2006).

5 See the fundamental article, J.W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91/5 (1986): 1053–75.

6 L.W. Banner, "Biography as History," *American Historical Review* 114/3 (2009): 579–86; and J.B. Margadant, "Constructing Selves in Historical Perspective," in J.B. Margadant (ed.), *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA, 2001), pp. 1–32. See also G. Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005), p. 168; and L. Passerini, "Transforming Biography: From the Claim of Objectivity to Intersubjective Plurality," *Rethinking History* 4 (2000): 413–16.

7 Quotes from Margadant, pp. 2 and 7, respectively.

8 M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Denis (eds), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006); C. Baskins (ed.), *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance* (Pittsburg, 2008); A. Bayer (ed.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT and London, 2008); M. Holingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London, 2004); J.M. Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT and London, 1999); idem., *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven, CT and London, 2008); L. Syson and D. Thornton (eds), *Objects of Virtue* (Los Angeles, 2001). See also A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988); and L. Auslander. "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110/4 (2005): 1015–45.

9 The bulk of Caterina's papers are housed in the Florentine State Archives (ASF), in the Fondo Mediceo avanti il Principato (MAP); included are letters to and from her court, many inventories, financial records, and her will. The MAP also holds many letters regarding Caterina, written by the Medici or their ambassadors in the Romagna. The contents of the MAP have been digitized and one can consult them on the Archive's website (www.archiviodistato.firenze.it). Caterina's correspondence and other documents that pertain to her rule can also be found in several Italian state archives, including Milan (Archivio Sforzesco), Modena (Archivio Segreto Estense), Venice, Mantova (Archivio Gonzaga), Bologna, Forlì, Rome, and Naples (Fondo Riario Sforza). Papal bulls and documents related to the Riario–Sforza are housed in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

In addition, several chronicles written in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries include useful information. The most valuable are by two Forlivese, A. Beniardi, *Cronache Forlivesi,* ed. G. Mazzantinti (2 vols., Bologna, 1895–97); and L. Cobelli, *Cronache Forlivesi dalla fondazione della città sino all'anno 1498* (Bologna, 1974). Cobelli, although a courtier in the Riario court, fell out of Caterina's favor in the 1490s and this

personal situation affected his version of events. Both accounts may be biased in their own ways, but they nonetheless offer first-hand descriptions of local events, personalities, intrigues, and monuments and present a credible characterization of the atmosphere in the Riario court and its territories.

10 See, for instance, F. Benzi, *Sisto IV Renovator Urbis: Architettura a Roma 1471–1484* (Rome, 1990); Kent, *Cosimo de'Media*; and C. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

11 Scholars have recently begun exploring creative consumption practices in the Renaissance. See M. Fantoni, L.C. Matthew, and S.F. Matthews-Grieco (eds), *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries* (Ferrara, 2003); and E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance* (London, 2005).

12 A. Bermingliam, *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800* (New York, 1997); J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York, 1994); W. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York, 2002).

13 See R. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, MD and London, 1993); and Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*.

14 For women's patronage see S.J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros* (New Haven, CT and London, 2006); D.Y. Gerardo, "Lucrezia Borgia's Palace in Renaissance Ferrara," *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 64/4 (2005): 474–97; C. Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, 1997), pp. 97–110; K.A. Mclver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580: Negotiating Power* (Aldershot, 2006); and the essays in S.E. Reiss and D.G. Wilkins (eds), *Beyond Isabella* (Kirksville, 2001).

Chapter 1
Creating a Spectacle

> [Caterina] mounted a horse to enter the city and ... many people came to meet her and organized themselves along the last mile to the city .... She dismounted at Imola, where part of the citizenry was on horse and part on foot ... together with the governors of the territory they all presented her with the keys [to the city] and spoke some words. As she and her company entered the town, they paused briefly to listen to verses and watch Florentine-style theatrics, and look at the decorations that spread from the entrance to the city to the steps of the palace. All were in praise of her and [her new husband] Count Girolamo.
>
> —report to Caterina Sforza's step-mother, Bona of Savoy, 3 May 1477 [1]

As was typical for noble women in the Early Modern period, Caterina Sforza's first major public appearance was during her wedding, a series of events that took place over several weeks and in numerous locations. During the wedding ritual, a bride usually traveled from her home to that of her spouse, where she then took up residence. The physical move underscored the symbolic transfer of her loyalties: she left her father's jurisdiction and entered into her husband's. For a noble bride, this journey might require days or even weeks to cover the distance from one principality to another. In the process, the bride not only married her husband, but was transformed from daughter to wife and consort with authority over territories. Her new status required acknowledgement from peers and subjects alike, and so along the way, she would honor the cities and territories sympathetic to her natal and marital families with ceremonial visits. The festivities provided by each city expressed its support of the bride and her family and, of course, the cities within her husband's territories would stage the most extravagant celebrations as: official welcome to her new role.[2] This was the case for Caterina Sforza in 1477 when she entered her husband's territory of Imola, as described above in a letter to her step-mother, and for countless other noble brides. The ceremonial enacted during the wedding journey derived from long-standing rituals that forged complex webs of alliance and possession—among the bride, the subjects, and the land—that were ultimately about the display of both established and recently contracted power relationships.

Caterina Sforza's participation in these overtly public events offered

peers and subjects a good look at her carefully crafted persona. Like other nobles, Caterina organized and took part in processions, triumphal entries, and civic and religious rituals in which she transitioned into and performed her changing gendered roles as daughter, wife, consort, mother, widow, and regent. Many of the people in the fifteenth century who knew of Caterina Sforza would have come to know her through witnessing these types of official public activities. If they could not view her actions personally, they might have been able to read or listen to accounts or examine the artifacts that accompanied or commemorated the events. Elites might have been privy to more detailed, or even contradictory, information about her in letters from ambassadors or spies, but they still largely relied on her performance and its official records to form their opinions of her character, social status, and political situation.

Because of their diplomatic importance, elite ceremonies inspired ample textual and material traces, and records of Caterina's public performances are numerous. Documents tell of the festivities that marked her wedding and the triumphal entries, processions, and official diplomatic visits and receptions that she participated in as the consort of her well-placed husband Girolamo Riario. After her husband's assassination, Caterina's role clearly changed with her new status as widow and regent for her young son. She had to manage her public face to counteract social disapproval of her position in general and some of her private choices in particular. She took on the masculine role of ruler and presented herself as an indomitable regent who would not tolerate any dissent within her territories, and she built up her military defenses to insure her power. Nevertheless, Caterina succumbed to Cesare Borgia's siege of Forlì in 1500 and lost control of the Riario lands. The public image she had previously cultivated was no longer feasible without her political title, and she retreated to more normative gender roles. Taken together, these events provide a clear outline of her biography, which will further unfold through the rest of the book. While some of the details of Caterina's public performances, such as her dress, will be revisited in later chapters, here the focus is on her appearance and comportment during public ceremonies and events as well as the accompanying commemorative artifacts. Together, these provide a broad view of the way Caterina crafted a public persona, an exemplary display of power and performance by a woman in a Renaissance court.

Courtly Ceremony and Ritual in the Italian Renaissance

Staged celebrations and ceremonies were especially significant events within the princely courts of Early Modern Italy, a culture that was renowned for its extravagant and meaningful ritual performances. Public presentation, with lavish personal adornment, afforded an opportunity for the thoroughly choreographed and spectacular display of social hierarchies, intellectual prowess, and political alliance. While family connections, and often brute force, were essential to identity and status in the Renaissance, carefully chosen words, deeds, and appearances could nuance or even improve one's position. Contemporaries recognized that even pronouncements and proclamations were a potential medium for rulers to exhibit their wealth and power.[3] Leon Battista Alberti, in his treatise *On the Family* (1441), argued that a strong-willed man can certainly create himself through words and actions, but his successful achievement of excellence hinges on whether others think he actually *is*, and not just seems, what he wants to be: "To gain glory a man must have excellence. To gain excellence he need only will to be, and not merely to seem, all that he wishes others might think him. For this reason they say there are few prerequisites to excellence. As you see, only a firm, whole, and unfeigned will, will do."[4] In Alberti's estimation, "being" is the reality construed from the play between inner character, outward appearances, and reception. In the early sixteenth century, Baldassare Castiglione similarly emphasized the importance of appearances and behavior in his *Book of the Courtier* and Niccolò Machiavelli simplified self-fashioning with his repeated assertion that appearances are reality, at least in political matters; Machiavelli stressed that "seeming" was more important than "being."[5] The subtleties aside, for these writers the construction of a powerful persona demanded a full understanding of the part and its proper presentation.

Elites practiced this kind of self-fashioning in their everyday activities, but they truly exploited its potential during public events with all their pomp, ceremony, and, perhaps most important, participants. The public nature of courtly and civic ceremonies and rituals was fundamental to their efficacy. On the most basic level, the audience played the necessary role of witness to the event, and in the case of such activities as taking possession of a city or a triumphal

entrance, the viewers were in fact active participants in a ritual process that delineated hierarchical relationships of mutual respect and instituted legal authority.[6] As Machiavelli recommended in *The Prince,* the ruler "meets with [the guilds] sometimes, and makes himself an example of courtesy and princely generosity—always holding fast, nevertheless, the dignity of his high position, because this he never at any time forgets."[7] He referred to ceremonies in which all levels of society, each in their rightful place, are present, and these include many of the ritual processions and displays within the princely courts. Although Machiavelli and other contemporary theorists unequivocally assumed a male model for princely behavior, women regularly participated in courtly ritual and display. When a noblewoman served as regent she took on more masculine duties that required her to act the part of the prince in the public sphere. She, too, needed to meet with the various guilds. The successful female regent adapted her public behavior to balance the gendered expectations associated with her sex and her position to preserve the "dignity" of her role.

Renaissance nobles recognized the benefits of well-cultivated display. Machiavelli summed up the ramifications of attention to appearances: "Nothing makes a prince so highly esteemed as do great undertakings and unusual actions .... Above all, a prince strives to gain from all his acts notoriety as a strong man of superior ability."[8] Staged events and entertainments were among the prince's most visible actions, and Machiavelli advised that "at proper times of the year he engages the people's attention with festivals and shows."[9] Machiavelli echoed the ideas that Giovanni Pontano, a humanist who served the court of Naples in the late fifteenth century, set forth in his treatises regarding the moral aspects of spending money (1498). Pontano elaborated that a ruler's expansive public endeavors are part of his striving for magnificence, the highest earthly virtue he can achieve and a fundamental trait for a great prince. Included in his list of potentially magnificent events are lavish triumphal entries, weddings, funerals, and religious festivals along with other, less ephemeral activities, such as erecting well-made palaces and public buildings.[10] To succeed, these events and monuments must serve the larger public good, whether through entertainment, beautification, and/or affirmation of collective values and identities. As Jacob Burckhardt rightfully observed, ceremonies and celebrations are "a higher phase in the life of the people, in which its religious, moral and poetical ideas took visible shape."[11] Everyone could have enjoyed the events

and monuments, but both Machiavelli and Pontano agreed that it was the prince who reaped the greatest benefits when he engaged his subjects with public activities. The quality of the events reflected the ruler's generosity, imagination, and connections, while truly successful festivities would have increased popular confidence in the prince and strengthened his position.

When Caterina paraded through the gates of Imola, she followed well-established customs that drew on stories of Imperial Rome to bolster contemporary power. Events like these were enacted by ancient emperors, and while they continued in practice for centuries, during the Renaissance, rulers more conscientiously modeled themselves after their Roman predecessors. Pontano frequently cited the behavior of Roman emperors in his treatises on princely spending and performance. The rise of humanist knowledge sparked this surge of interest in recreating the glorious past, and rulers, with help from advisors, strove to demonstrate their intellectual pursuits through what they understood as authentic or accurate revivals of ceremonies. When they reenacted ancient Roman customs, fifteenth-century rulers not only modeled themselves on the victorious emperors and conquerors of the past, but, according to Renaissance codes of self-fashioning, they also became their cultural heirs.[12]

The transformative aspects of public events and ritual were important in establishing a new ruler, bride, or even governor in his or her position. The events made visible the social, political and religious ideas that structured Renaissance life, heightened in intensity by the atmosphere of celebration. Jacob Burckhardt's comment that festivals entered into "the world of art" is apt.[13] These public events required intellectual advisors and numerous craftspeople to produce the appropriate setting of temporary arches and pavilions, create and coordinate the decorations of garlands and tapestries hanging from windows along the processional way, and formulate the entertainments of orations and dramatic performances. Celebrations amplified the already strong prerogative of display within the princely courts, and as such were a true opportunity for the ruler to cultivate greatness and excellence, both manifestations of his or her power.

The Marriage of Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza

Caterina Sforza understood the importance of appearances from an early age. Her marriage to Girolamo Riario, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV, placed her within one of the most powerful courts of Europe and gave her access to political and social opportunities that she might not have enjoyed with a lesser match. Born in late 1462 or early l463, Caterina was the illegitimate yet fully acknowledged daughter of the extravagant Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza. His court was one of the most lavish of fifteenth-century Europe, and Caterina experienced it first-hand. When her father became Duke in 1467, she and the other children borne by his mistress Lucrezia Landriani entered his court to be reared initially by his mother Bianca Maria Visconti and then by his consort Bona of Savoy, who arrived in 1468. Although she was not as highly-prized a bride as her legitimate half-sisters, Caterina nonetheless became an important tool in negotiating political alliances for Milan through marriage. She was betrothed to no less than four men—including Girolamo—by her tenth birthday.[14] It was not uncommon for elite families to plan the marriages of their children when they were so young, nor was it unusual for a girl to go through several betrothals—the fiancé could die from illness or war, or politics could shift so much that the alliance was reconsidered. Although some couples eventually displayed feelings beyond the customary and dutiful expressions of love and respect, noble marriages had little to do with romantic love and everything to do with advancing a family's status.

Although his origins were modest, Girolamo Riario held two lucrative and powerful positions—Captain General of the papal armies and Castellan of the papal fortresses—and had recently been elevated to the noble title of Count of Bosco when he visited Milan in November 1472 in search of a bride. Born around 1446, he was the second son in a family of workers from the small Ligurian city of Savona. His positions and title were courtesy of his uncle Francesco della Rovere, who, after he became Pope Sixtus IV in 1471, ensured the future of his extended family through his many nephews. Four of the nephews accompany Sixtus in Melozzo da Forlì's fresco from the Vatican

1.1 Melozzo da Forlì, *Pope Sixtus IV appoints Bartolomeo Platina Prefect of the Vatican Library,* 1477

Library, including Girolamo, second from the left (Illustration 1.1). Several of the nephews entered the Church and Sixtus elevated them as cardinals, including Girolamo's brother Pietro and nephew Raffaele Riairo and their cousin Giuliano della Rovere, who later became Pope Julius II. Sixtus bestowed Girolamo with his papal commissions and hoped that he, one of the few who remained secular, would bolster the family name by obtaining a hereditary state. To that end Sixtus purchased for his nephew the rights to Bosco d'Alessandria, a territory on the outskirts of Milanese jurisdiction, from Duke Galeazzo Maria in 1471 and initiated plans for Girolamo to marry into the Sforza family.[15] The marriage would raise Girolamo's status, add to his land

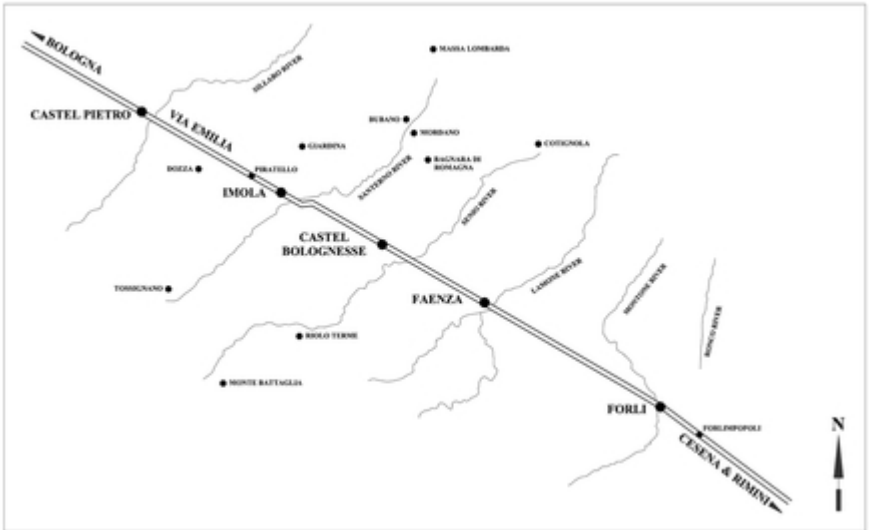
holdings, and produce offspring who would carry on his name.

The Riario–Sforza engagement forged an important political bond between the Papacy and Milan, two of the richest and most influential courts of Europe. Caterina was not the only Sforza daughter considered for Girolamo's bride. The first option was a ducal niece, but this match failed in negotiations. The Duke of Milan then offered the ten-year-old Caterina.[16] The details of the dowry and other privileges arranged, all parties signed the betrothal contract in January 1473.[17] In the days that followed, Girolamo presented his fiancé with gold-brocaded clothing and thousands of jewels, among other things, that served as part of his counter-dowry. Gifts of sumptuous clothing and jewels were customary at betrothals and weddings. The groom cloaked his bride in his status—his family colors and emblems were usually integrated into the designs and his wealth and position were connoted by the quality of the jewels—and so marked her as his.[18] In accordance with custom, Girolamo would not receive the generous dowry, set at 10,000 ducats, until the marriage was made official upon consummation when the bride reached puberty.[19] This was years away, but unless the pope approved the dissolution of the engagement or one of the two participants died, the marriage would certainly take place. The betrothal and its ceremonies set the young Caterina on her first steps toward adulthood and gave her a taste of her future role as consort; for Girolamo, they secured his rise to nobility.

Girolamo's acquisition of the small Romagnole territory of Imola during the extended marriage negotiations further solidified his rank. His brother Pietro, who had also arranged the purchase of Bosco, traveled to Milan in October 1473 to make the arrangements. Located thirty kilometers southeast of Bologna on the ancient Roman Via Emilia, Imola had long been part of the Papal States, which included the wealthy and better-known vicariates of Bologna, Ferrara, Rimini, Pesaro, and Urbino (Illustrations 1.2 and 1.3). As such, Imola was technically under the control of the papacy. Duke Galeazzo Maria became its vicar in 1471 when the previous ruler was deposed, and he paid annual dues to the pope for the rights to the territory. While the Sixtus could have easily taken away Milan's rights to Imola and given the city to his nephew, he instead chose to maintain friendly diplomatic relations and purchase it for 40,000 ducats.[20] The price compensated the duke as much for his lost revenue as the territory's geographical importance—the city lay between the Florentine and Venetian territories and whoever possessed it could potentially control

either republic's expansion into the area. Sixtus might also have been rewarding Galeazzo Maria for the successful marriage agreement and political alliance. In any case, both parties knew that the transfer of Imola would provide for the new couple's future. The surrounding countryside was rich in agricultural production, and Sixtus and Girolamo hoped Imola would be the first of several territories that Riario controlled within the Papal States. To

1.2 Map of Italy



1.3 The cities along the via Emilia in the Romagna region of Italy, with the Riario–Sforza fortresses around Imola and Forlì

guarantee its long-term benefits, Sixtus made the title to the vicariate hereditary for his nephew's family.[21] Girolamo took control of the city immediately and appointed relatives and partisans from his home town of Savona to oversee its governance.

The Riario–Sforza wedding took place four years later. The public pageants staged during the extended festivities reintroduced the couple to one another, but more importantly showcased the elite status of the new dynasty to their peers and subjects alike. It was crucial that the marriage take place in the spring of 1477: Caterina's father Galeazzo Maria had been brutally assassinated the previous December and the court of Milan was in crisis. Galeazzo Maria's widow, Bona of Savoy, knew her step-daughter's value in political terms was depreciating and Sixtus might want a more powerful or at least more stable marriage alliance for his nephew. Serving as regent for her young son Giangaleazzo, Bona needed the support of the papacy all the more to insure his vulnerable position. In January, she wrote to Girolamo informing him that both Caterina, who was now fourteen, and her dowry were ready for him to collect.[22] Girolamo, however, was preoccupied with business as the Captain General of the papal armies, and so tried to put off the nuptials. He justified the delay with practical concerns. He told Bona that he needed time to travel to Imola so he could meet and properly fete Caterina in his territories as she traveled down the Italian peninsula to Rome. In

addition, both he and Sixtus IV feared for her health; Rome was experiencing an outbreak of the plague and they did not want her to arrive in Rome during the crisis.[23] Perhaps suspecting that Girolamo was trying to back out of the betrothal, Bona herself began the lengthy preparations to send her step-daughter to Rome. To legally bind the couple, she arranged a marriage by proxy—that is, without Girolamo—in Milan that April. Caterina then set out on the long voyage to meet her husband, a journey that marked a symbolic transition in her life—from ducal daughter to consort of a papal nephew and Countess of Imola. The triumphal procession Caterina led down the Via Emilia from Milan to Imola and then on to Rome not only celebrated the Riario–Sforza alliance and its authority, but also, on a more personal level, marked the beginning of her adult life as Riario consort.

Caterina's journey spanned several weeks and required careful planning by the families, courts, and cities involved.[24] Both the Riario and Sforza families, like most elites during the Renaissance, had had experience with triumphal entries before this wedding journey to Rome. Girolamo was involved in the lavish festivities that his brother Pietro organized for Eleonora of Aragon in Rome as she made her wedding journey from Naples to her husband Ercole I d' Este in Ferrara in 1473.[25] Pietro had built a temporary palace for her in the piazza in front of his titular church, Santi Apostoli, and commissioned classically inspired plays, dances, music, orations, and feasts to entertain and pay homage to her. Pietro was one of the wealthiest Cardinals of the church, courtesy of his uncle Sixtus IV, and the funds to pay for these ceremonies came from Church coffers. While the papacy was not directly involved in this marriage, it was an opportunity to cement political alliances between the courts as well as to present Sistine Rome as a cultural center. While Pietro presided over the activities, Girolamo played a significant, if less-exalted role: he sat at Eleonora's table during the dinners and made conversation with her while they watched the various events. King Ferdinand repaid the Riario family's attentiveness to his daughter when he invested Girolamo in February 1477 as the Count of Cariati, with the territories of Umbriatico, Cerenzia, and other cities in Calabria Citeriore, in eastern Calabria.[26] Eleonora's reception in Rome probably inspired Girolamo's plans for that of his own bride. Caterina, daughter of the Duke of Milan, was no stranger to courtly festivities herself. While it is unlikely that she accompanied her father on his famously extravagant visit to Florence in 1471, during which he made several triumphal entries into cities along the way, she likely heard stories

about it and certainly was familiar with other lavish courtly events and the Duke's glittering entourage of hundreds of courtiers, musicians, servants, horses, and dogs.[27]

The first broadly public event of the Riario–Sforza marriage, the wedding journey established the couple's authority among their peers along the way. Accompanying Caterina during the fifty-day trip were members of the Sforza and Riairo families, nobles and citizens from Milan, Imola, and Rome, and foreign ambassadors to report on the events. Gianluigi Bossi led the Milanese component of the entourage, which included forty men, twelve horses and two maids for the bride. Another 114 men, sixty-eight horses, and thirty mules came from Imola to represent the Riario faction.[28] The party departed Milan on 24 April 1477 and traveled southeast along the ancient Via Emilia to enter into a new city each day of the journey. The first was Pavia, followed by Piacenza. Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna, all cities either under Milanese control or allied with it. According to Bossi's lengthy report to Bona of Savoy, in every city Caterina was well-received with various festivities and honors paid for by the local governments.[29] In this manner, the smaller cities affirmed their ties to the larger duchy as well as the papacy. The ceremonies all followed a similar format: local government officials, nobles, and citizens, arranged by rank, met Caterina outside each town and accompanied her into the city. She then attended an elaborate dinner and other entertainments. All the participants dressed in their finest clothing and adhered to the niceties of courtly behavior in their conventional gestures of respect and homage. Caterina stayed at a local noble's house or, in the case of Bologna, the ruler's palazzo, as arranged by Bona of Savoy beforehand. Her status and comfort were well-assured.

On 1 May Caterina made her triumphal entrance into Imola itself. Gianluigi Bossi described the events in detail in a letter to Bona of Savory; another letter to her, signed by the "noble peers serving Caterina" (servitores aulici et consocii Ill.ma Dominae Katerine), presumably eyewitnesses, corroborates his account.[30] These writers probably reverted to exaggeration on occasion to bolster the grandeur of the ceremonies; after all, Gianluigi Bossi's duty to insure that Caterina was both well-presented and well-received was ultimately a charge from Bona and he needed to convince her that he had succeeded. The two accounts nonetheless capture the course of events. Advisors had orchestrated the procession for the greatest dramatic advantage, and so the party, now accompanied by Bolognese soldiers from nearby Castel San Pietro, stopped outside of Imola to await the

right moment to proceed. Caterina refreshed herself with a quick meal and then changed into an especially extravagant gold brocade dress and jewels. The procession started up again and was met one mile outside Imola by local dignitaries and citizens carrying flowers. Finally, at the moment just before sunset, Caterina reached the northwest gate of the city. There she accepted the keys to Imola from the governing body of the Anziani as nobles and citizens looked on. She entered the city and proceeded through the streets until she reached the Palazzo Comunale on the city's central square. Her first glimpse of the city was favorable. The Imolesi had decked the streets with floral *all 'antica* garlands and draperies that displayed the arms of Sixtus IV, the Sforza, and the Riario, and so had transformed the town at least momentarily into a glorious city to welcome Caterina and her entourage. Various games and performances (*dignissime reppresentatione*) entertained Caterina as she rode toward the central square. When she arrived there, she saw a tall pavilion, temporarily erected and also embellished with the family arms, in front of the Palazzo Comunale. Much of the town's population massed in the square and surged around her. As she dismounted from her horse, a group of young men enacted a staged scuffle to control the horse's reins and so steady her movements. Understanding the situation, Caterina then gifted the horse to the man who won the fight. The ritual event allowed the participants to express their proper roles: the men paid homage to Caterina with their attentiveness and she in turn demonstrated her gratitude and beneficence with the prized gift. She then entered the pavilion and stood on a platform covered with black velvet to receive the wife of Imola's governor and other local women, all dressed in their best. The governor's wife took Caterina by the hand and led her into the Palazzo, where Girolamo's sister Violante Riario Sansoni greeted them.

Inside the Palazzo, Caterina found even more sumptuous decorations mounted for her reception. Expensive tapestries hung on the walls, colored velvets draped the ceilings, and carpets covered the floors in room after room. Caterina's bedroom was encased in white damask with gold trim, the floor covered with rugs and black velvet cushions and chairs. The main hall, decorated with cobalt blue, a Riario color, contained a large credenza laden with gold and silver objects from the Riario treasury and was the site of the evening's lavish dinner. Caterina sat at the main table on a platform with no less than fifty Imolesi. Right before dinner she had selected several of the local women to join her there along with the male nobles and the

Anziani. Thus, on this first day in Imola, Caterina and her subjects carried out the rituals of the triumphal entrance and reception, complete with gender specific rites, to make official the new socio-political hierarchy.

The festivities continued for several more days. Caterina experienced "tanto amore, fede et devotione"—much love, faith, and devotion, as one report of the events put it.[31] The day after her entrance, Caterina attended mass at the cathedral and then listened as a humanist gave an oration praising her and Girolamo. As a woman she could not speak in public, and so Gianluigi Bossi responded for her and read the *lettere di credenza*—letters of faith—that Bona of Savoy had prepared beforehand, knowing that they would be necessary for the proceedings. The next day was the town's market, when many of the peasants came in from the rural areas within Imola's territory to buy and sell their goods. A buffoon, Piasentino, introduced Caterina to country-dwellers, who in turn, heralded her with cries of "Contessa, contessa." They, too, all touched her hand in homage, playing out a ritual that connected Caterina to her subjects and expressed their mutual loyalty.

Caterina's triumphal entry into Imola and the concomitant reception and ceremonies introduced the young bride to her subjects, cemented her status as their mistress, and articulated the legitimacy and strength of the Riario family within its vicariate. Her visit was particularly important as the first occasion of the direct bodily presence of the new Riario ruler in Imola. Although he gained control of Imola in 1473, Girolamo had not yet seen the town and instead governed the territory through appointed agents. When Caterina ceremonially entered the city, she was acting as his bride, consort, and proxy, and as such, she participated in the rituals—the presentation of the keys, the hand-touching—that legally bound the Riario to their subjects and vice versa.[32] One can understand why Girolamo was hesitant to rush the wedding journey and the reception in Imola since the ceremonies had such important ramifications for his rule. The fact that he allowed his young bride to enact these rituals without him suggests his high confidence in her and also implies that her Sforza identity was integral to the establishment of Riario power in Imola. In the early 1470s, the vicariate of the city had changed hands no less than three times and Girolamo probably exhibited his Sforza connection to provide a sense of continuity. The Sforza had been the previous vicars as well as allies of the Manfredi, who had ruled Imola until 1471. Whatever misgivings the Imolesi might have harbored

about being appointed a different vicar may have been assuaged by the connections and performance of the fourteen-year-old Sforza bride. His confidence in Caterina aside, Girolamo revealed a sense of his priorities when he chose her to take possession of his territory. His rule in Imola was secure, backed by support from Sixtus, and so his consort could perform the ritual of taking possession of the provincial town. But despite its importance, Imola was peripheral to the main arena of his power, Rome, where he would personally oversee his bride's entrance and reception. After enjoying the pomp and splendor of Imola for almost two weeks, Caterina left the provincial city behind and proceeded on her journey toward Rome.

Caterina's wedding to Girolamo, papal favorite and Captain General of the papal armies, was a grand occasion for the celebration of the growing Riario and della Rovere power and glory in Sistine Rome. Caterina and her entourage had delayed their travels until they heard that her fiancé was ready to receive her there with the appropriate fanfare; Girolamo discovered an assassination plot against him and he needed to clear the situation. In addition, as Sixtus had warned earlier, the city was unseasonably hot and the plague was spreading. Nonetheless, Caterina left Imola on 13 May and eleven days later approached Rome, where she was greeted by the glory that befitted the papal capital. According to another lengthy and detailed report to Bona of Savoy from the "noble peers serving Caterina," her Roman reception showered her with honors and began long before she entered the city.[33] On 24 May the Bishop of Parma hosted Caterina at the Colonna family's Castello Novo fourteen miles outside the Roman walls. The next morning, the group was on its way toward the city when Girolamo arrived with his household staff, dressed in black velvet, and his troops, who wore the Riario livery of blue velvet with stockings decorated with family devices. The couple embraced and kissed, and each member of Caterina's entourage touched Girolamo's hand in a gesture of homage. A moment later Antonio Basso della Rovere, Girolamo's cousin, greeted them with another round of hand touching and invited them to pause nearby for a meal. After lunch the group moved on and met up with prelates and cardinals, whose rituals of greeting slowed the journey. Three miles from the city gates, another cousin, the Prefect of Rome Giovanni Basso della Rovere, joined the growing procession with his company of men. A mile later, the rest of the family of Sixtus IV greeted them and they stopped for the evening at the palace of the Cardinal of Urbino, where the ambassadors of King Ferdinando of Naples met them. After a dinner

there, Girolamo gave Caterina a necklace of pearls with a pendant valued at 5,000 ducats before departing for the evening with his men. Pearls, with their associations with purity, chastity, and fecundity, were a typical wedding present for brides. Girolamo's expensive gift, as well as his success in organizing the most powerful men in Rome for the reception, made clear his elite status as it honored his bride's own nobility.

The next day Caterina made her triumphal entrance into Rome.[34] Girolamo returned with Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, members of the powerful Orsini and Colonna families, the Prefect of Rome, and 6,000 men on horseback to accompany her into the city. Wearing another dress of gold brocade and her finest jewels, Caterina progressed to Saint Peter's. It was the feast of Pentecost, and she and her entourage, along with the entire College of Cardinals, partook in a three-hour mass performed by Sixtus, dressed in his finest papal array. Afterwards, Caterina kissed the pope's feet and her Milanese chaperone gave an oration in her praise, which Sixtus commended. The pope then performed the marriage ceremony and the couple exchanged rings. More orations followed, along with more feet- and hand-kissing, all ritual activities that cemented hierarchy and status. Finally, Gianluigi Bossi performed his last act as Caterina's chaperone when he held Caterina's hand out for all the cardinals to touch; as a woman, she could not be so presumptuous as to present herself to these men of the cloth. The Cardinals, who came from the most powerful families in Italy, became more than just passive participants in the ceremonies when they took her hand. As the Pope intended, their ritual blessing of the bride, made tangible by physical contact, obligated their support of the young couple beyond the nuptials.

The wedding and tribute ceremonies completed, the Riario–Sforza entourage proceeded from Saint Peter's to the couple's residence across the Tiber River for further celebrations.[35] The group passed over the bridge at the Castel Sant'Angelo, into the Piazza Navona, and toward the Campo de' Fiori, where Girolamo had rented Cardinal Orsini's palace until his own, under construction, was inhabitable.[36] The grand spectacle of well-dressed elites paraded through streets covered with fabric and between buildings draped with garlands fashioned into the arms of Sixtus IV and the Riario, the air heavy with the sensual perfume of incense. Tapestries decorated every room of the Palazzo Orsini and the main reception room featured a credenza laden with a vast amount of silver, a sign of Girolamo's treasures. Eighty Roman women, presumably representing the local nobility,

greeted Caterina as she moved through the palace to the seven rooms that were allotted for her personal entourage. In the final room, covered in gold and white brocade like the room in the palace in Imola during her reception, Caterina touched hands with all the women. This round of ritual acknowledgement completed, a child, dressed as an angel, entered to announce that the banquet was ready.

The dinner was a lavish affair with an abundance of spectacular foods and entertainment to demonstrate the Riario's wealth and connections.[37] Caterina and Girolamo sat at the main table joined by the most dignified of the guests, including the Bishops of Parma and Ferrara; Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga; the ambassador to the King of France; the wife of Giovanni Maria Visconti; the nephew of the Cardinal of Milan; and Caterina's chaperone, Gianluigi Bossi. Two hundred more prelates, ambassadors, gentlemen, and ladies sat at other tables. The meal began with sugared confections, and no less than twenty-two courses followed. Humanist entertainments marked every fifth course. Three times a child, in the guise of a cherub, rode in on a triumphal cart and recited verses that were played out by actors. First was the story of Medusa and Perseus, then the labor of Hercules and the Nemean lion, and finally the legend of Theseus and the Minotaur. Two dances followed, one described as Moorish and the other Florentine. The final performance was the most extravagant. More children appeared, this time dressed as hunters with spears, and recited verses as cooked animals, still in their skins, were carried in. There were two of everything, a veritable Noah's ark with wild boars and their young, stags, goats, peacocks, pheasants, and calves, as well as animals composed to resemble fauns and centaurs. Five hours later, the dinner eaten and the tables cleared, the guests presented the couple with gifts, estimated by the Bishop of Parma to be worth 12,000 ducats. In a letter to her sister Chiara, Caterina summed up the events of her wedding in a short statement that hardly does justice to the festivities and suggests that she took them for granted: "on the day of Pentecost I made the entrance into Rome and was accompanied by many triumphs ... [I was] very well-honored, and very well-presented."[38]

The entertainments during the banquet were a mix of the exotic and the fanciful, all informed by a humanist interpretation of ancient customs and legends. The stories of Perseus, Hercules, and Theseus were all about male prowess and virility in the face of adversity, and in this case they reminded the audience of the power of the Riario in general, and the power of Girolamo over his new bride in particular.

Stories of ancient lovers were typical for wedding festivities, and while these were not explicitly about love, they still were in keeping with fifteenth-century notions of gender roles within marriage.[39] Perseus overcomes his powerful female enemy, Medusa, and the gendered and sexual innuendoes of his victory allude to a woman's proper, submissive role in relation to men. Girolamo, these performances implied, was a commander of armies and a military hero akin to Perseus; he conquers the unconquerable on the battlefield and subdues his bride at home. The children's performances as hunters of the intact but cooked animals reinforced the theme of male virility and triumph that had been displayed in the classical plays. Games associated with hunting were a common component of elite marriage celebrations. On one level, they referred to the noble prerogative to hunt. But more significant to the wedding context was the underlying allusion to a husband's capture of his bride, a theme reminiscent of the Roman legend of the abduction of the Sabine women. These same violent themes reappeared the day after the wedding banquet when Girolamo demonstrated his military prowess in mock-battle and won the staged jousts in the Piazza Navona.[40] In this case his performance fit into more medieval, courtly ideals of knighthood and chivalry. Girolamo's choices for the entertainments at his wedding reflect his familiarity with noble customs past and present. He knew he had a golden opportunity—even an obligation—to display his masculine authority, whether physical, sexual, or intellectual, to his bride and his peers during the festivities. These traits were essential to his role as the head of the new family and his own position as one of the most powerful men of Rome.

The accounts of Caterina's Imolese and Roman entrances and receptions demonstrate their shared protocol. Ritual entrances and wedding celebrations conformed to fairly distinct scripts based on ancient prototypes, tradition, and current fashion, and everyone needed to understand and act their parts for the whole process to be successfully impressive. The records that describe the fifteenth-century ceremonies in the greatest depth, written by ambassadors reporting to their respective cities and courts, adhere to their own models as well. Their letters are long and detailed, and are exercises in formulaic courtly hyperbole. The ambassadors wrote these types of letters quite often, not just for wedding celebrations, but also for less extravagant meetings and receptions, and they understood that their patrons desired a certain amount of minutiae.[41] The reader, absent from the events, wanted to understand the proceedings and assess them in

social and political terms. The level of extravagance, the price of the gifts, the rank of those attending, the quality of the entertainments—all of these needed to be meticulously noted. Those interested could then gauge the events' success by comparison to others, and search for political significance, whether covert or on the surface. The celebrations and their written records serve as complex political statements, their audiences much broader than the immediate participants.[42] In this way, the accounts record past events, but also script future ones as well. While these highly embellished records can be discounted to some extent because of their formulaic qualities, they are nonetheless historical documents that record the level and type of impressions the organizers and participants wanted to produce. Girolamo Riario clearly desired to project the appearance of infinite wealth and resources, social and political, during the Roman festivities, and by all accounts it seems that he succeeded.

Ceremony and the Maintenance of Riario Power

The Riario dynasty, initiated with such fanfare during the wedding ceremonies, thrived in Sistine Rome. Several months after the wedding, the couple moved into the palace Girolamo had been building north of the Piazza Navona. Girolamo continued to serve as Captain General of the papal armies and Castellan of the papal fortresses, and maintained his status as a favorite papal nephew and advisor. Sixtus rewarded him in 1480 when he made Girolamo the vicar of Forlì, a prosperous town thirty kilometers to the southeast of Imola (Illustration 1.3).[43] As the Riario territories expanded, so did the family. Caterina fulfilled her duties as consort and was pregnant nearly every year of her marriage. Six of the Riario children survived infancy: Bianca (b. 1478), Ottaviano (b. 1479), Cesare (b. 1480), Galeazzo (b. 1484), Giovanni Livio (b. 1485), and Francesco Sforza (called Sforzino as a child, b. 1487); a daughter born in 1481 died soon after birth.[44] Caterina also maintained diplomatic ties between the courts of Milan and Papal Rome, but Girolamo was organizing a broader network of elite connections. His choices for his children's godparents included Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, who became Pope Alexander VI in 1493, and regional rulers Ercole d'Estc of Ferrara, Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, and Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini.[45]

These powerful men pledged their loyalty to two generations of the Riario family when they stood at the baptismal font during the sacrament. Girolamo was beginning to realize his dynastic ambitions.

To celebrate and secure the new acquisition of Forlì, Girolamo and his family journeyed to their territories in the Romagna in the summer of 1481. This would be the first time that Girolamo had seen either of his cities and the projects he had begun to commission within them. The official state visit was a muchneeded opportunity for the Riario to assert their authority. Caterina's triumphal entrance into Imola in 1477 had ritually fixed the Riario dominion over Imola, and Girolamo still needed to perform the same ceremony at Forlì, As at Imola, he had appointed relatives and allies from his home in Liguria to govern the city so that he could continue his duties in Rome. These men were loyal to him, and not the previous vicar, Pino Ordelaffi, whose relatives enjoyed growing political support. While the residents of Imola seemed to accept their papal vicar, the Forlivesi were more rebellious towards the new ruler. With backing by local nobles, pro-Ordelaffi factions conspired repeatedly in the 1480s to replace Girolamo with Pino's nephew Antonio Maria.[46] An overt display of Riario power and glory combined with the ritual ceremonies of taking possession would hopefully quell these conspiracies.

The festivities that took place during the Riario triumphal entry into Forlì were similar to those held in Imola four years before.[47] The family traveled to the Romagna through the Papal States, and stopped to visit allies along the way. As in the earlier entrance, the time of arrival at Forlì was carefully determined by astrologers, and so Girolamo, Caterina, their family and entourage approached the city's eastern Porta Cotogni in the early evening on 15 July.[48] During the entrance ceremonies, the splendor of ancient and contemporary Rome was revisited upon Forlì. The city momentarily became "Rome." On one level, this referred to Forlì's own past as the ancient Roman city Forum Livii and so celebrated its long history and classical origins. On another, the performances and decorations reminded locals that they were part of the Papal States and therefore connected to Christian Rome. Through the Riario family. Forlì was a satellite of the papal court and the city enjoyed all the protections and controls the Pope could offer.

The Forlivesi, dressed in their finest clothes and arranged by social rank and guild membership, greeted the Riario at the gates.[49] From there, the procession wound along streets of tapestry-covered houses to the Cathedral of Santa Croce and then the Palazzo Comunale (now

called the Palazzo Pubblico) on the town's central piazza, where temporarily erected triumphal arches made clear the classical and imperial allusions of the entry. Within the square, the Riario sealed their affinities with the local officials, nobles, and citizens with the ritual of touching hands. Staged games ensued, such as the taking hostage of the seigniorial horses and their ransom. The entertainment inside the palace further reinforced the message of authority and tradition: the humanist Guido Pepi gave an oration to praise the new ruler, young women dressed as the virtues sang on triumphal carts, and youths danced with palms. The evening ended with a dinner and dance. The following day brought more festivities that reinforced the Riario rule. Local nobles stormed a model of Otranto, the southern Italian city that had been recently conquered by the Turks. Sixtus IV was hoping to recover the town from the infidels through launching a fifth Crusade, and the mock battle clearly honored Girolamo, Captain General of the papal armies and a potential leader of the expedition. The participants demonstrated their commitment to Girolamo, the papacy, and Christendom as well as their own military skills. The show of force might also have served as a covert warning to those who had been conspiring against Girolamo's rule: any dissent would be crushed. The ruling family and local clergy, nobles, and citizenry all participated, or at least witnessed, these shows of grandeur that affirmed their individual and collective identities according to social and political position.

To prove his liberality and underscore his paternalism toward the Forlivesi, on the day of the tournament, Girolamo and his family threw coins to the public from the balcony of the Palazzo Comunale, where they were residing.[50] The gesture underscored his reaffirmation of the tax breaks and subsidies that he had previously instituted when he first gained the title of vicar. These concessions were possible because of his income from his other titles. Girolamo did not need the tax revenues of Forlì; instead, he needed the town's goodwill and confidence, which, as Machiavelli would later assert in *The Prince*, would minimize rebellions.[51] The coins themselves were ones that Girolamo had minted in Forlì to celebrate his acquisition of the city. Such manufacture of currency was an exclusive privilege reserved for well-established governments and rulers, and Sixtus IV had granted the Riario license to produce money in Imola and their other territories in 1477.[52] The coins displayed two designs, and each was made in gold, silver, and base metal. While the gold examples were worth a ducat, those thrown during the celebrations were probably of

the least valuable metal, worth a *carlino* or *paolo*, each a small fraction of a ducat. In the context of the entrance, the coins were more than just money—participants could keep the coins as records of Girolamo's entrance and pledges to the city. The distribution of coins represented in general the ruler's largesse and care of his subjects, and the iconographies clearly specified his ambitions. Although the coins do not seem to have survived, written accounts describe their appearance. One displayed a two-headed Imperial eagle bearing in its claws the Riario coat of arms; the inscription "Girolamo Riario Ruler of Forlì and Imola" (HYER REARIUS FOROLIV ET IMOL DYN) encircled the emblem (Illustration 1.4).[53] On the reverse was a full-length image of Forlì's patron saint, Mercurialis, posed with his right hand raised in benediction. The inscription included the motto "Enter into my help" (IN ADIUT MEUM INT) and the date of the Riario's acquisition of the territory, 1480 (A. MCCCCLXXX). By adopting this imagery, Girolamo aligned himself with two powerful entities, the Holy Roman Emperor and the local patron saint, and implied that he enjoyed special protection—international and local, temporal and spiritual—under their watch.

1.4 Drawings of the coins struck by Girolamo Riario, *c.* 1481; from A. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza* (Bologna, 1795), vol. 3, after p. 628

On the other coin, Girolamo chose to emulate King Philip II of Macedonia (ruled 359–336 BCE). The king, whose profile and name (PHILIPPUS REX MACEDONIAE) graced the coin's reverse, was a skilled military general famous for the victories that led to his unification of the several territories of Macedonia. Furthermore, Philip promoted Greek, that is, high, culture, and organized urbanization and commerce within his dominion. A great diplomat who negotiated advantageous marriage alliances for himself and his relatives, he actively supported the campaigns of his more famous son, Alexander the Great.[54] With this imitation of an antique coin, Girolamo drew parallels between himself and his classical predecessor: Girolamo, a great military man as Captain General of the papal armies, had

jurisdiction already over two territories in the Romagna and hoped to gain more.[55] He married well and thus had solid political connections, and his children were primed for distinguished careers. Girolamo's son Ottaviano could even become a new Alexander the Great. The humanist orations during the entrance probably elaborated on some of these parallels, and the most educated citizens would have understood the ancient symbolism. The rest of the Forlivesi might have had a more vague understanding of the portrait. To them, it could have been an image of a king, an image of an ancient king, or even an image of Girolamo himself; if they could read, they could see from the inscription that is was Philip II, but they might not have known his illustrious history. Whether they grasped the specific meanings of the portrait or not, all the Forlivesi surely understood that the coins were a special gift from their ruler.

The coin furthermore symbolized Girolamo's potential to strengthen his territories' political, cultural, and economic positions, as implied by the motto "Innate Liberality" (LIBERALITAS INNATA) that accompanied the Riario arms on the obverse. Indeed, Girolamo demonstrated his liberality, a significant component of a noble character, not just with these words, but by the actions of canceling taxes and throwing the money to his subjects. The motto explicitly communicated Girolamo's interest in promoting culture and urbanization, which he was already fostering in numerous architectural projects in Imola. Finally, the use of an image of a famous general from antiquity showcased his knowledge of the classical past and his humanist pretensions. Girolamo's privilege to mint coins gave him the opportunity to mimic both ancient and present-day emperors and put him on equal footing with the rulers of Milan, Ferrara, and Rimini, who all produced similar currency. Thus the coins were a significant aspect—even public record—of the performances of ceremony and ritual that once again underlined the legitimacy of the Riario, politically, culturally, and intellectually.

1.5 Unknown artist (Gambello?), *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, c. 1480–84

Although she was not featured on the coins the Riario threw to their subjects in Forlì, a portrait medal that dates to the same time period celebrates Caterina

1.6 Unknown artist (Gambello?), *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse, c. 1480–84

(Illustrations 1.5 and 1.6).[56] No documents have yet surfaced to reveal definitively who produced the medal, or when, but the iconography and inscriptions give some clues to its significance.[57] The obverse displays a portrait of Caterina, encircled by her full name, "Caterina Sforza Visconti de Riario, mistress of Imola and Forlì" (CATARINA SFOR VICECO DE RIARIO IMOLAE FORLIVII DNA). The inclusion of Forlì in her title provides a *terminus ante quem* for its execution—it must have been commissioned after 1480, the year the Riario gained the territory. Judging from the classically inspired imagery, in keeping with the humanist ambient of Sistine Rome, it is likely that the medal was produced before the Riario permanently left that city in 1484. Girolamo or Caterina might have ordered it to commemorate the expansion of the family's territories. The elite commissioned portraits, including medals, to assert a strong public image and mark important

events, such as a marriage or an advance in career.[58] Modeled after ancient Roman coins, portrait medals came into vogue in the humanist circles of fifteenth-century Italy and usually featured an idealized portrait and an emblem and inscriptions that elucidated the subject's status and character. Because of their small size and portability, they were an integral part of diplomacy and gift exchange in noble society and they circulated among elites as symbols of affection and alliance. Medals were cast in limited numbers, and so Caterina's medal was more exclusive than Girolamo's coins, even if both shared the same general prototype.[59] Caterina probably gave her medal to selected friends and allies, but never threw them to her subjects. The medal's exclusivity echoed Caterina's position as noble consort—beyond her participation in public and courtly ceremonies, her contact with Riario subjects was more limited than her husband's.

Caterina's medal presented an image and inscription that reinforced her husband's diplomacy: as Sforza daughter and Riario consort, beautiful and virtuous mistress of Imola and Forlì, she brings good fortune to her family and its territories. She appears young, dignified, and idealized in the profile portrait, and the accompanying inscription spells out her surnames to emphasize her elite status through both birth and marriage. A portrait, regardless of media, was not usually conceived as a literal record of the subject's likeness; rather, it was a multifaceted allegory illustrating the sitter's character. Ideological aspirations, affected by notions of gender, took precedence over literal appearance. For women, a conventionalized beauty was a necessary component that served as an outward sign of virtue, the most prized female attribute that encompassed the concepts of chastity, modesty, and loyalty.[60] Fashionable clothing, jewels and hairstyles, idealized features, and even the profile format signaled this beauty as well as nobility. Here, as was proper for a married woman, Caterina's hair is bound behind her head and its decorative ribbons indicate her beauty and conformance to fashion. The hairstyle, with a few locks curling around the face, recalls that of Livia, the influential wife of Augustus, a classical reference that would not have been lost on the medal's educated audience.[61] The classical allusions are further emphasized by the drapery Caterina wears instead of a contemporary-style dress. The idealized and classicizing beauty of the portrait underscores her identity as an exemplary woman. The emblem on the reverse of Caterina's medal further elaborates her womanly virtue. An almost nude female personification of Fortune balances her right foot on a globe and holds a smaller orb in her left hand and a rudder in her

right. The nubile Fortune implicitly reinforces the portrait's youthful quality. Her hair and loose drapery are lifted in the hypothetical winds of time, a breeze that also would affect her balance on the globe and the course of her rudder. The inscription reads: "To you and to virtue" (TIBI ET VIRTVTI). As is often the case, the emblem is multivalent and the inscription can be read in different ways. The "you" in *tibi* could refer to Caterina or to Fortune, and likely to both. "To virtue" (*virtuti*) could serve as praise of Caterina's good behavior, and at the same time offer counsel to insure it continued in the future. Virtue and Fortune are linked: even though fortune is so unstable, adherence to virtuous standards will yield the best results. Through behavior appropriate to her position as consort, Caterina of course demonstrated her virtue in everyday life, not just on her medal, and thus contributed to the growth and maintenance of Riario power.

The activities of the Riario family beyond their territories were part of a larger scheme of public presentation and diplomacy in the summer of 1481. After they had ceremonially established their rule in Forlì and visited Imola, the couple went to Venice, ostensibly to gain the Republic's support for the Pope's Crusade to Otranto, but also to solidify a Papal–Venetian alliance against Ferrara and Naples.[62] In September, they traveled first to the Venetian city of Ravenna, where they enjoyed a lavish feast of pullets, geese, duck, and calves, all donated under the orders of the local podestà. From there, the Riario entourage proceeded on toward Venice. They brought with them no less than twenty-one carriages full of their possessions, all necessary to make the right impression of wealth and nobility. Also concerned with appearances, the Venetian Senate had voted on how much pomp the city would provide for its guests: first it chose to honor the Riario by sending the ducal *bucintoro* to carry them to the city, and then it approved an elaborate reception during which Girolamo would receive local citizenship and nobility.[63] Doge Mocenigo greeted the Riairo at the Venetian island of San Clemente, and after they entered the city, the couple attended a special session of the Grand Council, visited the arsenal, and watched dances. During these festivities, 115 noble Venetian women attended to Caterina. The high level of festivities offered by the Venetian Republic demonstrated its support of the Pope's plans. The outcome of the visit was successful. Not only did the Republic ally itself with the Pope, but it also pledged to come to the aid of the Riario-appointed governors in the Romagna if asked.

The Venetian alliance assured, Girolamo demonstrated his desire for distance from the Sforza family when he failed to pay a diplomatic

visit to Milan that summer. Caterina's half-brother, the Duke, had requested that the couple come to his court so that he could affirm his papal ties, now in jeopardy because of the alliance with Venice, one of Milan's adversaries.[64] To decline, and therefore not participate in die honors and celebrations that accompanied a diplomatic visit, was an important sign of family loyalties—or the lack thereof. Caterina's Milanese connections were no longer so important to her marital family, and the pope purposefully called the Riario back to Rome before the journey could be arranged, thereby thwarting any possibility of strengthening the weakened connections with Milan. One concession to the Sforza family was the couple's brief visit to Cotignola on their way back from Venice in late September. On the road between Ravenna and Imola, the small city was the birthplace of Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Caterina's great-grandfather and the founder of the great Sforza line, who considered it their ancestral seat. The Riario entered the town and performed the ritual of touching hands with the officials and citizens, who enthusiastically welcomed them. Caterina was especially heralded with cries of "Sforza, Sforza!"[65] Though it did not completely satisfy the Duke of Milan's goals, the brief visit at least strengthened the Riario's relationship with the town.

The Riario trip to northern Italy showed that diplomacy and public ceremonies were not always successful in ensuring their goals. Another conspiracy developed in Forlì while the family was in Venice: several of the neighboring territories—Faenza, Ferrara, and Florence—opposed the Papal–Venetian alliance and wanted to expel the Riario and reinstate the Ordelaffi.[66] The three entities feared for their positions in central Italy if the two more powerful factions banded together against them, and they thought the Ordelaffi would be sympathetic to their cause. Upon his return Girolamo quickly addressed the local conspiracy against him by arresting the Forlivesi participants. To avoid possible assassination in his territories, he decided to return to Rome, where he could deal with the larger political situation. He and Caterina soon left for Rome with the rest of their entourage, but Girolamo chose to leave his children in Imola with their nurses.[67] Elite children often resided in cities or castles far from their parents; in this case, the children also provided a direct presence of the ruling family in the safest of the Riario states.

Ritual processions and festivities, if they did not always prevent dissent, often helped in the day-to-day management of leadership as events in 1483 show. The Riario traveled again to the Romagna that summer and, while this visit did not include the same amount of

pomp, it further reinforced their position in the region.[68] This was a necessary trip: the Venetian alliance forged in 1481 had dissolved, and the Republic now favored the Ordelaffi as vicars of Forlì. Although Girolamo's appointed governors managed to suppress the recurring local conflicts instigated by the family and its supporters and thus control some of the challenges to Girolamo's authority, his own presence in his territories could better stabilize some of these tensions. He and Caterina left Rome in May, and were welcomed back to Forlì with the requisite ceremonies. The family spent most of their time in the more-troublesome Forlì and resided only briefly in Imola, and did not make any diplomatic side trips beyond the visits with allies along the way from Rome. The Duke of Milan again urged them to visit so he could renew his alliance with the Papal States and thus offer Milanese support against the conspiracies, but Girolaino and Sixtus did not want to continue their agreement with Milan.[69] Girolamo was further preoccupied with the devastation wrought by a series of earthquakes in the Romagna that summer.[70] The quakes had begun on the feast day of Saint Clare (11 August), and so Girolamo tried to soothe his subjects by organizing religious activities to alert the saint to their needs. He called for votive offerings to the church of Santa Chiara in Forlì and organized a special procession, which became a local tradition, performed on Saint Clare's day for centuries.[71] The banding together of ruler, church officials, and citizens provided some sense of calm in this time of insecurity.

The Riario faced an even larger crisis the following year when Sixtus IV died, and Caterina achieved a new level of public recognition when she prevented total calamity for her family. The pope became ill and died in August 1484, and with him passed the period of their extravagant prosperity. As was customary upon the death of a pope, Roman mobs sacked the residences of papal relatives. These actions had their own ritual aspects: destroy the old alliances to herald the new. The Riario palace and other properties in Rome were thoroughly damaged and looted. When he heard that Sixtus had died, Girolamo, who was stationed outside Rome with his troops, sent Caterina to secure the papal stronghold of the Castel Sant' Angelo. The fortress was under siege by partisans opposed to the della Rovere and Riario, but if Girolamo could hold on to it, he might be able to influence the papal election and negotiate a favorable situation for himself. As was expected of a dutiful wife, even one seven months pregnant, Caterina followed her husband's orders and took command of the fortress; this was her first real involvement in the military

activities that would eventually bring her fame and notoriety. Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Gonzaga received reports from Rome that describe how she entered the castle, took charge, and brooked no dissent; she must have been authoritative to hold the castle in the face of such great opposition.[72] For two weeks, the various factions fought for dominance within Rome. Amid the chaos and backed by his wife's possession of the castle, Girolamo negotiated his position with the College of Cardinals as they deliberated over the new papal election. He finally received a guarantee that the next pope would allow him to keep his titles as papal vicar of Imola and Forlì if he relinquished his position as the Castellan of the papal fortresses. He agreed and Caterina surrendered her post after thirteen days of successful command. Luckily for the Riario, when Innocent VIII took office as pope, he upheld the deal made with the cardinals on the condition that Girolamo leave Rome.[73] Like Sixtus IV and his relatives, the new pope hailed from Liguria and these regional ties were important in his bestowing of favors. But without the full papal backing that he had previously enjoyed, Girolamo's power had clearly diminished. The days of acquiring more territories and being lavishly honored at home and abroad were over.

The Riario family's primary concern now was to maintain its position in Romagna. Keeping to agreement, in September 1484 the family moved to Forlì, where Girolamo could daily assert his ruling presence; they summered in the less seditious city of Imola. The Riario court was populated with Girolamo's family and friends from Savona, who had benefited from his largess and were therefore beholden to him. Caterina's family was also soon present. In 1487, she had finally been able to visit Milan to renew ties between her marital and natal families.[74] When she returned to Imola, she brought back her mother Lucrezia, once the mistress of Duke Galeazzo Maria, now the matron of a legitimate family. She and her husband Giampietro Landriani came to serve in the Riario territories with their several children, Caterina's half-siblings. Life in the provinces was less exciting than in Sistine Rome or Sforza Milan, but Girolamo and Caterina worked to keep up the lifestyle that was the prerogative of rulers. This was not easy. Girolamo's financial circumstances were severely curtailed without his previous military contracts, and he reinstated the taxes he had once forgiven in his territories.[75] The measure increased his subjects' animosity, compounded by the vengeance sought by several of Girolamo's enemies, most significantly Lorenzo de' Medici. In 1478 Girolamo had helped plan the Pazzi conspiracy in Florence that had

left Lorenzo's brother Giuliano dead.[76] Lorenzo had wanted to exact revenge ever since and he kept track of the various conspiracies and plots against Girolamo over the years.[77]

Finally, with Lorenzo's support, the rebels triumphed: Girolamo was brutally murdered in his rooms on the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Comunale of Forlì on 14 April 1488.[78] The assassination was rife with ritualized activities: the attackers threw his body out of the window and into Forlì's main piazza, where a mob of townspeople mutilated it. The assassins immediately took the rest of the family hostage, including Caterina, her children, mother, and half-sisters, and their closest courtiers; and the Forlivesi looted and sacked the seigniorial palace. The family's future looked grim. The conspirators intended Girolamo's dramatic and hideous death to accentuate the fall of the Riario and the rise of Ordelaffi rule in Forlì, but Caterina understood the instability of the situation and would soon harness it for her own ends.

Gender and Public Presentation in Caterina Sforza's Regency

Two weeks after her husband's assassination, Caterina embarked on a new phase of her life: no longer wife, she was now widow and regent. Her role as consort had been to adhere to standards of virtuous feminine behavior, support her husband, and bear children, all of which she fully accomplished. As a widow, she still needed to exhibit her virtue and loyalty, but the specifics of her situation allowed her to take on the role of leader of the family. Her young children needed her guidance and protection, and it was imperative that she preserve the family territories for them. A male relative might have become regent, but they were all preoccupied with their own business, and so Caterina shifted her behavior to become more forceful—and more masculine—to rescue the family. This was not entirely new: she drew upon her experience from when she had held the Castel Sant'Angelo in 1484 and the several other times she had briefly served as regent when Girolamo had been ill, away in battle, or otherwise unable to perform his duties.[79] Her activities during those moments were the common responsibilities of a noble consort, overseen by her husband. But these were all very temporary situations, and the new scenario, while not permanent, would continue over a much longer period of

time. Caterina's eldest son was only nine years old and he needed a regent until he reached his majority, which young men usually achieved between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Such a lengthy regency was typically difficult for a woman to maintain. Throughout the late medieval and early modern era, many considered the female character irrational, inconstant, lacking intellectual capacity, and thus inappropriate for leadership.[80] Women nonetheless served as regents, most often for short periods and at the request of their husbands, who would monitor their activities. Examples include Eleonora of Aragon, Isabella d'Este, Beatrice d'Este, Lucrezia Borgia, Eleonora of Toledo, and others. If the husband was dead, the female regent had more freedom to exercise her power. She was supposed to continue to earn out her husband's wishes, but obviously he could not have planned for every situation and she needed to make her own decisions. Male relatives and advisors counseled her, ideally to ensure the good of the family, but because her position was weaker than an outright ruler's, she was particularly vulnerable to those who had their own agendas for the control of the state. The female regent could easily be usurped if suspected of being disloyal to her husband or children, as was the case of Bona of Savoy, Caterina's step-mother.[81] Other issues related to gender mores hindered her situation. Princes gained much of their income from professional military endeavors, which were off-limits to women. Without outside sources of income, Caterina had to rely on income from within her state, largely taxes and tariffs, a policy that was understandably unpopular with her subjects. In addition, elite women were discouraged from taking on independent public roles. They could appear with male relatives and chaperones, but were not supposed to speak in public, a requirement for a ruler. For this reason, a woman's education did not typically include lessons in rhetoric. The successful female regent needed to maintain a proper balance between her feminine virtues and the more masculine requirements of her position.

In the two weeks between her husband's death and her triumph, Caterina demonstrated that she was fully prepared to take on a more masculine character and become regent of the Riario territories. She began her fight for power as soon as she understood her husband was dead, and was confident that her Milanese relatives would not allow Imola and Forlì to fall into an enemy's hands. Several contemporary accounts recorded in local chronicles and letters reporting the situation to Lorenzo de' Medici, among others, agree on the how the events unfolded.[82] Tommaso Feo, the castellan of the Rocca di

Ravaldino in Forlì, had immediately sent out messengers to Bologna and beyond to alert Riario and Sforza allies of the situation. Tommaso, who was from the same town in Liguria as Girolamo, exhibited his loyalty further when he refused to surrender the castle to the rebels. To stall their onslaught, he told them that before he would capitulate, he wanted to negotiate his terms of surrender with Caterina to assure his position after the dust settled. She did not let this opportunity pass by: she convinced her captors to release her so she could talk with him. They kept the rest of her family captive as insurance against any treachery.

Caterina entered the Rocca di Ravaldino on 16 April, and from its ramparts she informed her enemies that she was going to fight them instead of yielding. When they threatened to kill her relatives, she called their bluff. She hinted that she was pregnant with a child who would legally inherit the title to Forlì even if the conspirators killed all the other Riario children, and insinuated that the unborn child would grow up to avenge his family's murders. According to eyewitnesses, she punctuated her declarations with the obscene hand gesture of the "four figs," a reference to sexual intercourse, female genitalia, and, by extension, women's sexual and reproductive power. (Machiavelli would later transform Caterina's gesture into an actual exposure of her genitals in his version of the events, discussed in Chapter 5.)[83] To further assert her control, she flew the Riario colors above the fortress, later adding the Sforza's as well, and ordered heavy bombing of the city for several days. Her Sforza and Riario relatives, Pope Innocent VIII, and neighboring rulers all waited to see how the coup would be resolved. The Forlivesi themselves wavered between their support of the Riario and the Ordelaffi. Finally, under bombardment from the Rocca and fearing the arrival of troops sent by the Duke of Milan, the city chose in favor of Caterina and Ottaviano and the rebels fled. With assistance from relatives from both sides of the family, Caterina could now act as regent of the Riario territories until her son reached his majority. The Pope officially affirmed her title later that summer.[84]

On 30 April Caterina paraded through the streets of Forlì as the leader of her family and showcased her new, more public role. Her first point of business as regent was the staging of a triumphal entry into Forlì, during which the family would retake possession of the city and reassert its rule in a ritualized affirmation of power.[85] It was imperative that the procession take place the same day as her victory to eliminate further hesitation on the part of the Forlivesi. Also significant, the day was the feast of Forlì's patron saint Mercurialis,

and Caterina could align the Riario triumph with long-standing civic and religious rituals. The coinciding celebrations might even suggest that the Riario's deliverance (as well as the city's) could be attributed as much to Saint Mercurialis's heavenly intercession as to Caterina's and other's earthly actions. At least on the surface, the festivities reunited the city after two weeks of unrest. Caterina's soldiers and the local nobles led the procession through the city from the Porta Cotogni, the same gate that the Riario had entered in 1481, to its main piazza. The two groups made clear the levels of support now enjoyed by the Riairo family, who brought up the rear. Once at the main piazza, in which stood the remains of the palace where Girolamo was murdered, Caterina and her family entered the church of San Mercuriale to celebrate Mass. After receiving the priest's blessing, Ottaviano circled the piazza alone three times, and rejoined the procession to continue to the Rocca di Ravaldino, where the keys of the fortress were handed over to Caterina. Once the formal investiture of ruler and regent was completed, the usual festivities to celebrate the patron saint's feast got underway, including a running race and offerings from guilds and other civic groups.

To further establish her regency, Caterina saw to the proper burial of her husband that same day. Widows customarily orchestrated their husbands' funerals to show their loyalty to the dead spouse, and so on one level the funeral was part of Caterina's wifely duties. But this loyalty was crucial to her regency—only as a good and faithful widow could she be trusted to rule in her son's name. Thus she simultaneously honored her husband and predecessor and fulfilled familial and political duties when she buried Girolamo.[86] His body had suffered many indignities during the coup. The evening of the assassination, townspeople had beaten and mutilated his corpse, which was then left in the main piazza of the city outside the seigniorial palace. Later that night, after the crowds had dispersed, members of the penitential order the Battuti Neri rescued the body and hid it in their church across from the Cathedral of Forlì. They wanted to bury him in the cathedral, but the canons initially rejected Girolamo's body because of their fear of repercussions from anti-Riario forces. Eventually they placed it in unconsecrated ground outside the cathedral.[87] On the day of the triumphal entry and procession, Caterina arranged for Girolamo's body to be transferred to a chapel in San Francesco, a church that housed the tombs of many of the local nobility. There, it was placed in an available marble sarcophagus decorated with the Riario arms underneath a painted pavilion.[88] Both

Girolamo's murder and his initial grave in unconsecrated ground were anything but glorious, and Caterina corrected his ignominious end with a funeral befitting a powerful ruler and beloved husband.

Girolamo's burial at San Francesco on 30 April was purely ceremonial, part of the institution of Riario power and succession during the triumphal processions in Forlì. Caterina intended it to be only temporary. Four days later, she sent her husband's body to Imola, where it was interred in the family chapel that Girolamo had commissioned in the cathedral.[89] Rulers' funerals were often integrated into the proceedings of investiture for their successors, and sometimes they served as the sole ceremony marking the transition of power.[90] With Girolamo's body and soul officially laid to rest in Forlì, Caterina and Ottaviano could advance in their status as the city's regent and ruler. Their very much alive bodies took the place of Girolamo's now-defunct body as they physically—and legally—assumed his position in the procession and performed the duties that had once been his as papal vicar. Caterina's decision to stage the funeral made practical sense—according to ritual the Forlivesi needed to witness his burial to accept the transfer of power. Her decision to move his body to Imola was equally as pragmatic: the chapel was already built, and Girolamo, who died without a will, had probably planned to be buried in it. In addition, the Imolesi had not been a part of the conspiracy against the Riario, and they were in general more accepting of the family's rule. The injustices Girolamo's corpse endured had not and were not going to happen in Imola, whereas the potential of further desecration lingered in Forlì. The canons of the cathedral were surely aware of the political implications of housing Girolamo's body for eternity; in doing so, they reaffirmed their allegiance to the Riario, who had now returned to power. Girolamo's body in fact remained at peace in the Cathedral of Imola until the church was renovated in the eighteenth century and the Riario chapel destroyed.

1.7 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, *c.* 1488

Her ceremonial installation as regent completed, Caterina immediately demonstrated her commitment to rule with an iron hand. She ordered the capture of all the conspirators, executed those found as well as their families, including women and children, and confiscated their properties.[91] The overwhelming show of force precluded any speculation that she would be a lenient or hesitant ruler because of her sex; instead, she wanted to establish that the ramifications of rebellion were acute. On the other hand, she also rewarded those loyal to her with positions within her court. For instance, Tommaso Feo, the castellan who had helped her during the coup, received Caterina's half-sister Bianca Landriani in marriage along with some land.[92] He would now be forever linked to Caterina's family, and she insured his continuing service. She also redistributed the rebels' property to families that had supported her, and buttressed their allegiance to her as well.

1.8 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, reverse, *c.* 1488

Caterina's regency hinged on her performance as Riario widow and mother, chaste and loyal to her dead husband and young children, and these themes dominate the portrait medal she commissioned to commemorate her triumph (Illustrations 1.7 and 1.8). Little is known about the specifics of the execution of the medal, but most likely she ordered the medal from the Florentine workshop of Niccolo Spinelli, called Fiorentino, whose style it closely resembles.[93] Its inscriptions and iconography together suggest that Caterina commissioned it soon after Girolamo's death and her ascent to power in the spring of 1488. On the medal Caterina appears in profile as an imposing,

1.9 Piero della Francesca, *Allegorical Triumphs of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza, c.* 1474

solidly built, and veiled widow. The portrait is less idealized than that of the previous medal: she appears heavier and her hair is covered and her jewelry removed. Her dress is contemporary in style, and the veil drapes across much of it, eliminating the potential to decorate it. The veil thus replaces all the other visual markers of feminine beauty and signals that she has entered into a new realm as widow. If her beauty once reflected her virtue, it reflected her husband's as well. Without him to sanction it, her virtue now was available for another man to claim. Caterina's situation as regent dictated that she remain independent of marriage and so the typical signs of feminine beauty would not have advanced her goals. The iconography of her virtue as widow did not include traditional idealization. The bulk of her body on this medal refers to her strength as mother and regent. The veil speaks to her loyalty and chastity and her lack of interest in the marriage market. Both the formulation and the configuration of her name in the inscription "Caterina Sforza de Riario of Forlì and Imola" (CATHARINA SF DE RIARIO FORLIVII IMOLAE) underscore her loyalty to the Riario. To further emphasize her Riario identity on the medal. "DE RIARIO" is directly in front of her face, while the reference

to her natal family is shortened even further to "SF." The portrait and inscription on the obverse of the medal together display Caterina's kinship and continuing loyalty to her husband's family.

Caterina celebrated her triumph more explicitly on the reverse of the medal. Here, a winged personification of Victory drives a triumphal cart; she carries a palm of victory in her right hand and grasps the reigns of two winged horses in the left. While she underplayed her natal family on the one side, she inserted the Sforza family symbol of the *biscione,* a viper devouring a baby, on the victory cart on the other. The inscription. "Fame will follow victory" (VICTORIAM FAMA SEQVETVR), heralds Caterina's success in the power struggle that followed Riario's assassination. Both men and women used a victory cart in their emblems, but Caterina chose a cart qualified by the masculine virtues of fame and victory, similar to the one that appears on the back of Federico da Montefeltro's portrait by Piero della Francesco of 1474 (Illustration 1.9). There, Fame crowns Federico, who rides in the triumphal cart. Although Caterina's emblem is more subtle than his in that it does not include her figure on the cart, it is still a far cry from his consort Battista Sforza's victory cart, which carries the feminine virtues of faith, hope, and chastity. The masculinity of Caterina's victory emblem to fifteenth-century eyes is underscored by the fact that King Charles VIII of France adopted the same emblem, with only slight variation, on his medal of circa 1494–95, also from Niccolò Fiorentino's workshop (Illustrations 1.10 and l.ll).[94] On his, the figure of Peace appears in front of the victory cart and the inscription ("Peace will follow victory") is modified accordingly. Charles VIII certainly would have only ordered a medal that clearly asserted his masculine authority as monarch. It is unclear whether Charles knew that Caterina had already employed the emblem. If so, her status as a woman does not seem to have lessened its triumphant message. The reverse of her medal champions the masculine virtues of fame, victory, and triumph that she needs to rule effectively. Medals like these were often used as diplomatic gifts, and Caterina's presumably circulated among her peers to reinforce her persona as the indomitable Riario widow and regent.

Caterina did not rule without help from others: both the Riario and the Sforza families vied for influence over Caterina's regency. Raffaele Riario, Cardinal of San Giorgio and the papal chamberlain, was concerned with the interests of his young cousins who would be the progenitors of the Riario line. He and his entourage resided in Forlì for several months following Girolamo's assassination to assist

Caterina in her new position. To ensure that she had Riario interests at heart, he not only left representatives to report on developments when he departed in October 1488, but also returned to the Romagna to direct key political negotiations.[95] Lodovico Sforza, Caterina's uncle and the de facto Duke of Milan, wanted to control the Riario territories himself, or at least keep it out of the hands of his enemies. Lodovico sent ambassadors regularly to present his advice and watch over her.[96] She corresponded with the two men, asking for occasional financial support and advice when under threat from other territories. Florence and Venice had wanted for some time to expand their borders to include the Riario lands, and both sought opportunities to act. Most rulers needed a strong network of allies to help them in times of need, and so the support of Caterina's powerful male relatives was essential to the success of her regency. For instance, when Giovanni Andrea de' Gerardi, the Riario castellan of the rocca in Imola, challenged Caterina's authority in November 1489, Raffaele Riario traveled to the city and resolved the situation.[97] Their allies were her allies, and they would prevent hostile forces from taking advantage of her regency; ultimately, their (masculine) authority legitimized and, to some degree, sanctioned her activities.

1.10 Niccolò Florentine, *Portrait medal of King Charles VIII of France,* obverse, *C.* 1494

1.11 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of King Charles VIII of France,* reverse, *c.* 1494

If Caterina's relatives, allies, and adversaries monitored her decisions, they certainly scrutinized her sexual behavior. She was legally acceptable as regent and *tutrice,* or guardian, of her children only as long as she remained chaste and loyal to her dead husband. In the Renaissance, the most prevalent fear about a widow's behavior regarded perceptions of her sexual freedom.[98] The widow was sexually mature, but no longer under her husband's control, and her marriage had provided some distance from her father's as well. Without either of them to chaperone her and/or curb her sexual needs, she might break social codes and take lovers to satisfy herself. She also might remarry, but this was typically arranged or at least approved by her natal family. Either situation would compromise her loyalty to her dead husband and his family, since at the time a woman's physical relationship usually indicated her political sympathies as well. Therefore, the widow who wanted to raise her children resided in her husband's family's house where she could be

closely observed; then, if her natal family arranged a marriage for her, she would leave the children there when she moved to her new home.[99] The situation of the widow-regent was more freighted: she was the head of the household, and a new lover or husband could take over the state and usurp the rightful heir's position. To prevent this, if the widow-regent remarried or took a politically dangerous lover, she would usually have to forfeit her title to rule and someone else would assume control of the state and the tutelage of the children. Her adversaries could even force her from power with gossip about illicit sexual behavior that played on apprehensions regarding female power. This in fact happened to Caterina. Reports about her sexual disloyalty to Girolamo arose almost immediately after his death and continued throughout her regency. Her meeting with a male ruler was grounds for speculation over a love affair or even a new marriage. In fact, Caterina imprisoned one of her court artists, Leone Cobelli (who was keeping a chronicle of Forlì), because he prematurely painted shields with her family arms quartered with those of Antonio Maria Ordelaffi, whose family had ruled the city before the Riario.[100] Many assumed that she would marry him in 1489 after they had met to discuss their political situations. No marriage took place, but stories circulated that they were lovers.[101] Keeping Caterina's potential sexuality in check was just one of the reasons why her male relatives often sent ambassadors to check on her or, in the case of Raffaele Riario, visited in person.

While it is difficult to determine how many of the ramors regarding Caterina's sex life were true, she did have long-term affairs with at least two men during her regency. Part of her diplomacy was intended to control the relationships' impact upon her rule. The first, with Giacomo Feo, played an increasingly important role in her court from 1489 until he was assassinated in 1495. The second, with Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, began only after Giacomo's death. Giovanni died of natural causes in 1498. Some of Caterina's peers were aware of the relationships, and they speculated about their nature and commented on them in letters. Many of her subjects might have known about them as well: both men resided with her and she bore each of them a son. To all appearances, these were illicit liaisons, but Caterina maintained that the men were simply legitimate associates, in Giacomo's case a courtier and eventually a governor, and in Giovanni's, a business alliance. No marriage contracts or other contemporary legal documents have come to light to definitively prove or disprove a marriage. Only after each lover's death did

Caterina claim to have married him. In her final testament from May 1509. Caterina declared that her son Carlo Feo was "natural and legitimate," which makes clear he was her biological child, and stated that she had legitimately married his father Giacomo.[102] She referred to her son Giovanni di Giovanni de' Medici in the same manner in the will, and similarly professed that she had married his father. She had already presented herself for several years as Giovanni di Pierfrancesco's wife and widow, as documented in the records pertaining to the son's guardianship (explored further below). Caterina's Medici descendents, beginning with Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and her subsequent biographers assumed that she had indeed married Giovanni di Pierfrancesco and so legitimized the family line.[103] But if Caterina had married one or both of the men, she did not make it public during their lives since that would have endangered her political status. Instead, she maintained the image of loyal Riario widow and regent to counteract any gossip.

Caterina's relationship with Giacomo Feo drew much ire from virtually all who knew of it and her ability to handle the tensions ultimately failed. In 1489, the nineteen-year-old Giacomo, brother of the loyal castellan Tommaso Feo and one of Girolamo Riario's courtiers, moved into rooms adjacent to Caterina's in the Rocca di Ravaldino of Forlì.[104] The following year she gave birth to his son Bernardino. (Giacomo later changed his son's name to Carlo in homage to Charles VIII of France when the king invaded Italy in 1494.) One of the many Ligurians who had benefited from the Riario reign, Giacomo gained a considerable amount of power within Caterina's court. Perhaps in part to justify his living so close to her, and certainly to boost his authority and income, she made him castellan of the Rocca after deposing his brother in 1490, and her uncle, the Duke of Milan, knighted him in 1491 and so gave him a noble, if minor, title.[105] Even if Giacomo gained some approval at first, ambassadors began to write in 1493 that Caterina was completely under his control, and commented on his erratic temper and self-serving political aspirations.[106] The following year, Forlivesi nobles complained to Raffaele Riario about Giacomo's ever-growing power when the cardinal visited Forlimpopoli to speak with Caterina about her alliance with the Pope.[107] Caterina would not admit any problems, and Giacomo appeared at her side at all types of courtly activities, from ambassadorial receptions within her residence to more public events like tournaments.[108] Their alliance jeopardized not only the future of the Riario heirs but also the general social order: his

recent knighthood aside. Giacomo was neither well born nor well educated; any wealth he accumulated was due to his relationship to Caterina. The nobles considered him unsuitable as Caterina's consort and certainly did not want him to rule over them. With the approval of Raffaele Riario and possibly Ottaviano Riario, a group of Forlivesi plotted to end his tyranny and murdered him in front of Caterina and her sons on 27 August 1495 as they were returning from a hunt.[109] The assassins claimed loyalty to both Caterina and Ottaviano, and saw themselves as saving her from a courtier who had become out of control, if not an inappropriate lover. She reacted strongly to this affront to her power. Whether she needed help with her rule or not, she would not tolerate any dissent. She had nearly all the conspirators and their families executed, just as she had done after Girolamo's assassination.[110] The significance of the retaliations was clear: she would sustain control through martial law if necessary.

1.12 Drawings of the coins minted by Caterina Sforza, *c.* 1496 (left) and *c.* 1499 (right); from A. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza* (Bologna, 1795), vol. 3, after p. 628

Caterina sent another message to her public regarding her seigniorial power the following year when she minted coins with propagandistic emblems and inscriptions. The Forlivese chronicler Andrea Bernardi records that she presented three new coins to her subjects one Sunday in November 1496 (Illustration 1.12, left).[111] None of them seem to be extant, but Bernardi carefully describes the coins, which he notes as designed by a Spanish artisan. One design, minted in two denominations worth one *quattrino* and four *quattrini*, carried the name and image of Saint Mercurialis, the patron saint of Forlì, dressed in papal robes and miter and performing a benediction; the coins might also have included an invocation of his protection.[112] The other design, worth a *baiocchi,* depicted the Rocca di Ravaldino with the inscription "Forlì" (FORLIVII). The reverse of all three displayed a monogram of Caterina's initials and "Visconti" spelled out (VICECOMES); this term referred not only to her title as ruler but also

her natal family, the Visconti Sforza of Milan.[113] Caterina oddly did not include the Riario family name. Throughout her regency, she signed documents with both the Sforza and Riario names, and the two names appear on her earlier portrait medals. The right to mint coins in Forlè belonged to the vicariate, which was in the Riario name, and not the individual. Why she dropped "Riario" in favor of "Visconti Sforza" on the coins remains a mystery; perhaps the coins are signs of an attempt to increase her personal—not Riario—authority as regent as she gained experience.

The iconography of each coin underscores her sanction to rule. The design with Saint Mercurialis was like Girolamo's coin of the saint from 1481: just as her husband had done, Caterina claimed the image of the local patron saint to bolster the Riario vicariate. One side presented the spiritual, religious authority of the saint, the other the earthly, political authority of her rule. The use of the Rocca di Ravaldino on the *baiocchi* is more complex. In the fall of 1496, Caterina had just finished the refurbishment of her residence within the Rocca, and so this coin probably commemorated its completion. An image of a fortress appears on several rulers' coins and medals in the fifteenth century, most memorably on those of Sigisinondo Malatesta, who, like Caterina, had rebuilt his fortress. But the coins marked more than the end of construction: both Sigismondo and Caterina employed their respective fortresses as signs of physical and political power.[114] Here, the Rocca di Ravaldino is symbolic of all of Forlì, a reading articulated by the accompanying inscription. In the fifteenth century, the Ravaldino was the city's strongest fortress. While it was under Riario control, the fortress complex housed the troops that protected not only the ruling family but also the entire city if necessary. In addition, the Ravaldino was the site of Caterina's triumph and her current residence. The Rocca on the coin refers to all these general associations—rulership, protection, security—but in this context it ultimately refers to Caterina's rule. If the city depended on the fortress for security, it also depended on the ruler, Caterina. The image of the fortress on the coin thus conflates the security of the city with Caterina's power as ruler-regent.[115]

The new coins served a broad audience as both money and souvenirs. The chronicler Bernardi explains that they were all of low value and thus could be used as everyday currency "here [in Forlì], Faenza, and Imola, and for the most part of the Romagna," that is, in the Riario territories and the surrounding areas. He then suggests that their novelty made them collector's items: the coins were "seen by

everyone ...[and] because they were made in small quantities, for the most part [they] were carried for show."[116] In this manner, the coins were like a commoner's portrait medal; they were less exclusive than a medal, but their main value seems to have been in keeping them. Caterina understood the coins would reach a wider range of recipients and adjusted the iconographies and inscriptions that she had previously used for her portrait medals. She followed Girolamo's example and chose symbols that implicitly referred to her authority instead of a literal portrait, but then distanced herself from him by not including his family name. Like Girolamo's coin of Philip II of Macedonia, Caterina's conveyed her desire as regent: the rule was in her hands, with key religious and military backing. These new coins appeared the same year that Caterina began her relationship with Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and began to shift her diplomacy towards Florence, which for so long was anti-Riario. She was making autonomous and potentially controversial decisions and the coins affirmed her authority to do so.

Caterina's affair with Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici was rather different than her relationship with Giacomo Feo. She seems to have learned from the problems that arose over Giacomo's dominance of her regency, and chose to be more discreet with Giovanni. In any case, Giovanni did not have a high-ranking or official role in her court. Their initial contact in 1495 was purely business: she loaned him and his brother Lorenzo money and they helped her hire troops and served as her agents to procure textiles and other items in Florence.[117] They only met when Giovanni came to Forlì in the spring of 1496 to negotiate a large purchase of grain for famine-ridden Florence.[118] While he stayed in guest quarters that time, on later visits Caterina housed him in a newly refurbished apartment adjacent to her own in the Rocca. In April 1498, she gave birth to his son, Lodovico, whose name she later changed to Giovanni in honor of his father. Giovanni di Pierfrancesco was from the cadet branch of the Medici family—his father was Lorenzo the Magnificent's cousin.[119] The more powerful side of the family had been forced into exile in 1494 when Piero de' Medici, il Magnifico's son and successor as head of the family and de facto ruler of Florence, had allowed the French King Charles VIII to enter the city without government approval. To distance themselves from their ousted relatives, Giovanni and his brother Lorenzo adopted the name *il Popolano* (of the people), and he worked as a business agent for the Florentine Republic. Through him, Caterina sold grain from her territories to Florence, negotiated trading rights

and tariffs, and gained a military contract for her son. Florence eventually granted her and her children citizenship, another sign of the growing alliance between the two factions.[120] All those concerned with the situation, including Raffaele Riario and Lodovico Sforza, attentively observed the couple and speculated whether they had married and how much influence Giovanni, and by extension, Florence, was exerting over Caterina. Nobody wanted Giovanni to repeat the inappropriate behavior of her previous lover, Giacomo Feo. Like him, Giovanni was not noble—one report on the situation to the Duke of Milan refers to him disparagingly as a "merchant citizen" (*un cittadino mercante*).[121] In response to her relatives' queries, Caterina asserted that she had not ever remarried and had no intentions of doing so.[122] Giovanni was ostensibly in Forlì as an agent and did not seem to be a ranking member of the Riario court, so he did not threaten the local political situation as much as Giacomo once had.

The deals that Giovanni facilitated with Florence were beneficial to the Riario family and territories alike, and the military contract for Caterina's son was especially significant for her regency. Ottaviano would rule the Riario territories one day and, at nineteen, needed experience before he could take charge. A number of Forlivesi had been rallying since the mid-1490s for his ascent to power and thought Caterina was obstructing her son's career.[123] This was not the case. In 1494, she asked her uncle Lodovico Sforza to grant Ottaviano a lucrative military contract with Milan and negotiated with him for a few years over the price.[124] She did not approve his offers and so turned to Giovanni for help with the matter. In June 1498 Caterina announced Ottaviano's Florentine *condotta*, worth 17,000 florins a year.[125] Most rulers exercised their authority, and augmented their incomes, by serving as military commanders, and this was Ottaviano's first foray on that career path. He was now obligated to be away from the Riario territories, and with the Florentine troops trying to conquer Pisa. Ottaviano could begin his official duties as papal vicar of Imola and Forlì after completing his service, but until then, his mother continued as regent, more secure than ever. She had demonstrated her commitment to her son's future and, because the states were in theory under Ottaviano's control and he was gaining in age and experience, the political situation would not be overtly jeopardized if she married Giovanni de' Medici.[126] Rumors continued to circulate over their possible marriage, and the situation was certainly not clear when Giovanni died of gout while taking the waters in San Piero in Bagno in September 1498. After his death, diplomatic relations continued with

Florence through other ambassadors, the most famous of which was Niccolò Machiavelli, who visited Caterina's court in July 1499 to negotiate the renewal of Ottaviano's *condotta,* among other things.[127]

1.13 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, *c.* 1498

Around the time that she negotiated her son's initial military' contract, Caterina updated her triumphal portrait medal to reaffirm her status as regent. The changes are subtle: her profile and dress are virtually the same as on the original, but she has removed her widow's veil to present herself as matron (Illustration 1.13).[128] Her now-visible hair is decorated with pearls and drawn back into a knot, much like the Livian style on her earliest medal, and the designs on the exposed sleeves of her dress are also more articulated. These simple but potent visual cues of the pearls, hair, and embroidery demonstrate that Caterina has returned to the persona of a beautiful and virtuous woman that she had cultivated in the early 1480s. The changes only extend to the portrait; the inscriptions on both the obverse and reverse are the same, as is the emblem of the triumphal cart. With Ottaviano's coming of age, it seems that Caterina no longer had to assert herself as a Riario widow. Previously, she appeared with the veil to signify her

relationship to her dead husband to gain authority for a long-term rule until her son was of age. Now that her son was an adult with a military contract, her role was more short term, similar to the many regencies that wives enacted while their husbands were away in battle. Ottaviano was capable of monitoring her actions and she, at least theoretically, had to answer to his authority.

1.14 Cristoforo Romano, *Portrait medal of Isabella d'Este, c.* 1499

Other women asserted their abilities to serve as short-term regents in their portraiture. For instance, Isabella d'Este commissioned a portrait medal in 1498 in part to buttress her qualifications to serve as temporary regent for her husband, Francesco II Gonzaga, another military commander who was often away in battle. Isabella and her advisors devised a complex and difficult to decipher emblem with arcane antique references that complemented her idealized portrait (Illustration 1.14).[129] At the top of its reverse, the medal displays Sagittarius, the astrological sign of Jupiter that is also, according to an uncommon plotting of the zodiac, Isabella's ascendant. Below is a rare type of Victory figure derived from the coins of Claudius and Vespasian. The unusual iconography thus presents Isabella as a child of Jupiter, fully capable of ruling, as the motto, "On account of high merits" (BENEMERENTIVM ERGO), makes clear. The fact that the meaning of the emblem needed to be explained, even to her peers, emphasizes Isabella's sharp intelligence and ongoing humanist education. Isabella's victory figure was more singular than the easily identifiable version on Caterina's medal, but it is noteworthy that both women used the personification of Victory to declare their ability to rule and played on masculine virtues. Perhaps Isabella had seen

Caterina's medal and, inspired by the older woman's fame and success, sought to produce a more sophisticated version. In any case, the same year that Isabella commissioned her medal, Caterina adapted hers. She maintained the emblem of the victory cart to assert her power as regent since she continued in that position, but presented herself as a matron and revived the signals of beauty in her iconography to mark her slight shift in status.

A number of events and artifacts commemorated Ottaviano's budding career as a soldier and ruler of the Riario territories as well. The diarist Luca Landucci records that Ottaviano and his soldiers entered Florence in a triumphal procession on 28 June 1498 to commence his military contract.[130] More than likely, the group departed from Forlì with some sort of fanfare. To more permanently honor his advancing career, either Ottaviano or Caterina ordered a portrait medal, attributed to Niccolò Fiorentino like Caterina's victory medal (Illustrations 1.15 and 1.16).[131] His was probably commissioned at the same time that hers was updated. On the front, Ottaviano appears in a bust-length profile, attired as a nobleman in a small cap and a buttoned-up coat. On the reverse, he is astride a prancing horse, carrying a sword as if on parade. Ottaviano's attributes on the medal—clothes, sword, and horse—remind the viewer that he possesses both the social status and virility necessary for a ruling nobleman. The inscriptions assert his name and title: on the obverse, "Ottaviano Sforza de Riario of Forlì and Imola" (OCTAVIANVS SF DE RIARIO FORLIVII IMOLAE), and on the reverse, "Ottaviano Riario" (OCTAVIVS RI). Although it does not have an evocative motto, Ottaviano's medal emphasizes his legitimate claim to rule as his father's heir by the repetition of the family name. The Sforza name, while abbreviated, nonetheless recalls his mother's family and subtly refers to her regency.

Other physical evidence from Ottaviano's coming of age and transition to power includes a coin that Caterina strack in November 1499 (Illustration 1.12, right).[132] Noted, but not described, by the chronicler Bernardi, it might have been the now-lost coin recorded by later sources as worth a *testone* and that carried profile portraits of mother and son. Each face of the coin was simple in design: "Caterina Sforza Visconti of Forlì and Imola" (CATERINA SFORZA VICE COMES FOR IMO) encircled her profile and "Ottaviano Visconti de Riario" (OCTAVIANVS VICE CO DE RIARIO) encircled his. Similar to the coin, an undated seal inscribed with both of their names further marked

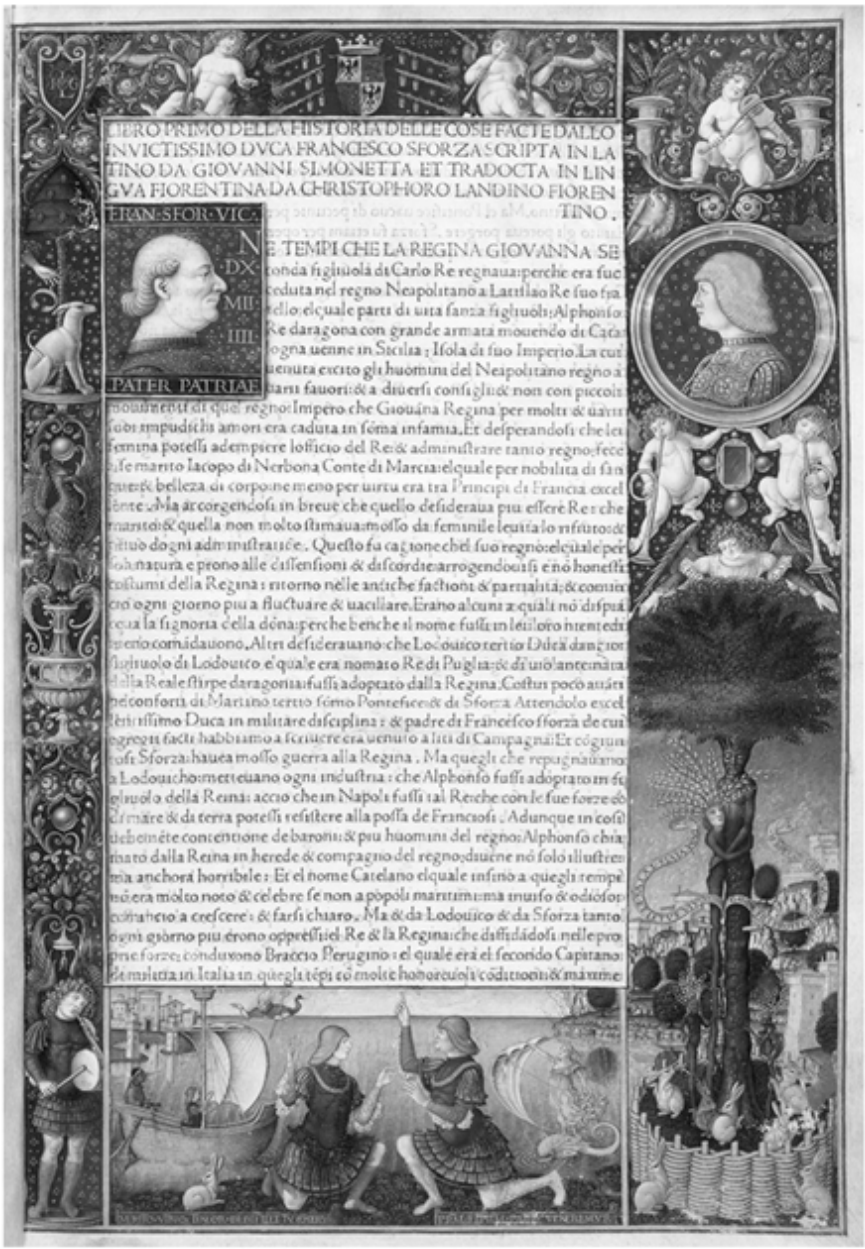
1.15 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Ottaviano Riario,* obverse, *c.* 1498

1.16 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Portrait medal of Ottaviano Riario,* reverse, *c.* 1498

1.17 Seal of Caterina Sforza, *c.* 1490s

the joint rule of mother and son (Illustration 1.17). Regents often portrayed themselves with their charges to assert their legitimacy. For instance, Caterina's uncle Lodovico Sforza appears with his nephew Giangaleazzo Sforza on the frontispiece of the Paris version of Giovanni Simonetta's *Sforziad* (1490; Illustration 1.18). The two men kneel at the bottom of the page, and Lodovico points up toward the text; a more metaphorical depiction of the two appears in the right margin: Lodovico is the dark tree (his nickname was "il Mora") that embraces and protects the younger branch, Giangaleazzo. Giangaleazzo (who was also Caterina's half-brother) became the Duke of Milan when his father Galeazzo Maria was murdered in 1476. Because he was too young to rule, his mother Bona of Savoy assumed the regency until 1479, when Lodovico usurped her title. He continued to rule even after his nephew came of age, and officially became duke when Giangaleazzo died in 1494. During his regency, Lodovico employed portraiture to legitimize his authority. He minted coins in *c.* 1482 that feature his portrait on one side and his nephew's on the other; later, the copy of the *Sforziad* manuscript was decorated with similar paired portraits. Both Milanese examples make visible the filial and legal ties of uncle and nephew, regent and ruler, and the later image masks the tensions that arose with Lodovico's continuing rule.[133] These double images, like the coins and seal from the Riario

court, reminded viewers that the regent was indeed the ruler's legal representative.


LIBRO PRIMO DELLA HISTORIA DELLE COSE FACTE DALLO
INVICTISSIMO DVCA FRANCESCO SFORZA SCRIPTA IN LA
TINO DA GIOVANNI SIMONETTA ET TRADOCTA IN LIN
GVA FIORENTINA DA CHRISTOPHORO LANDINO FIOREN
TINO.
FRAN·SFOR·VIC·
·DX·
·MII·
·IIII·
PATER PATRIAE
E TEMPI CHE LA REGINA GIOVANNA SE
conda figliuola di Carlo Re regnaua: perche era fuc
ceduta nel regno Neapolitano a Ladislao Re suo fra
tello: elquale parti di vita senza figliuoli: Alphonso
Re daragona con grande armata mouendo di Cata
logna uenne in Sicilia: Isola di suo Imperio. La cui
venuta excito gli huomini del Neapolitano regno a
farti fauori: & a diuersi consigli: & non con piccoli
mouimenti di quel regno: Impero che Giouana Regina per molti & uarii
suoi impudichi amori era caduta in fama infamia. Et desperandosi che lei
femina potessi adempiere lofficio del Re: & administrare tanto regno: fece
a se marito Iacopo di Nerbona Conte di Marcia: elquale per nobilita di san
gue: & belleza di corpo: ne meno per uirtu era tra Principi di Francia excel
lente. Ma accorgendosi in breue che quello desideraua piu essere Re: che
marito: & quella non molto stimaua: mosso da femminile leuita: o rifiuto: &
fastidio di ogni administratrice. Questo fu cagione che el suo regno: elquale per
sua natura e prono alle dissensioni & discordie: arrogendouisi e no honesti
costumi della Regina: ritorno nelle antiche factioni & partialita: & comin
cio ogni giorno piu a fluctuare & uacillare. Erano alcuni a quali no dispia
ceua la signoria della dona: perche benche el nome fussi in lei: loro intendi
mento era in altro. Altri desideravano che Lodouico terzo Duca di Angio
figliuolo di Lodouico e quale era nomato Re di Puglia: & di uno antecessore
della Reale stirpe daragonia: fussi adoptato dalla Regina. Costui poco auanti
per conforti di Martino terzo fumo Pontefice: & di Sforza Attendolo eccel
lentissimo Duca in militare disciplina: & padre di Francesco sforza de cui
egregii facti habbiamo a scrivere era venuto a liti di Campagna. Et cogniu
to Sforza: hauea mosso guerra alla Regina. Ma quegli che repugnauano
a Lodouico: hauevano ogni industria: che Alphonso fussi adoptato in fi
gliuolo della Regina: accio che in Napoli fussi tal Re che con le sue forze e
di mare & di terra potessi resistere alla possa de Francesi. Adunque in cosi
fatte contentione de baroni: & piu huomini del regno: Alphonso chia
mato dalla Regina in herede & compagno del regno: diuenne no solo illustre
ma anchora horribile: Et el nome Catelano elquale insino a quegli tempi
no era molto noto & celebre se non a popoli marittimi: ma inuiso & odioso
comincio a crescere: & farsi chiaro. Ma & da Lodouico & da Sforza tanto
ogni giorno piu erono oppressi el Re & la Regina: che diffidandosi nelle pro
prie forze: conduxono Braccio Perugino: el quale era el secondo Capitano
di militia in Italia in quegli tempi: co molte honorevoli conditioni & maxime

1.18 Giovanni Simonetta, *Sforziad*, frontispiece, 1490, Bibliotèque nationale de France, Paris

Attentive to her motherly duties, Caterina worked to advance not

only Ottaviano's career, but also her son Cesare's. She staged celebrations to herald his coming of age. In 1499, Cesare became the Archbishop of Pisa. As the second-born son, he had always been slated for a vocation in the Church and his cousin Cardinal Raffaele Riario had relinquished the archbishopric to him to initiate his career. Cesare traveled to Pisa with an entourage for his investiture, which took place on 20 May 1499. When he returned to Forlì in October, Caterina had banners mounted throughout the city that displayed the arms of all those involved in the transfer of the office: the Holy Roman Emperor, the Duke of Milan, Cardinal Riario, Giovanni de' Medici, and her own.[134] His mother made sure that as Cesare moved through the streets, his new office, as well as the network of connections that supported him, could be seen by all.

Caterina's regency through 1499 had survived quite a number of conflicts—not just those to do with her lovers. There were the disputes questioning her leadership, quarrels with neighboring t erritories, such as Ferrara, over borders, and also international conflicts, such as Charles VIII of France's invasion of Italy. Her public personae, displayed in proclamations and presentations such as triumphal entries and processions, and the artifacts that commemorate them, told a story of noble authority, family loyalty, ancient tradition, and spiritual piety that masked the tensions of conflict. This façade finally came to an end after twelve years of rule.

Reversals of Fortune

After 1499, there would be no more triumphal entries or pageants for Caterina. The political networks that she had employed to maintain her regency and advance her sons' careers did not provide sufficient support when she faced her greatest challenge as regent that year. Cesare Borgia, the son of Pope Alexander VI, had ambitions much like Girolamo Riario's, namely, to rule a large principality carved from the Papal States. And, as in Girolamo's case, his powerful papal relative fully endorsed and facilitated his plans. To pave the way for Cesare's conquest, Alexander questioned the validity of several papal vicariates in the Romagna and the Marches, including the Riario's in Imola and Forlì. Aiding his cause against her, Caterina had not been fully paying her annual tribute to the pope, who further noted that she had violated other terms of the vicariate as well. For her part, Caterina

claimed that the papacy still owed the Riario money from when Girolamo served as Captain General of the papal army. Nevertheless, in March 1499, Alexander issued a bull that declared his son the rightful vicar of the papal territories under Riario control.[135] Caterina would not surrender the Riario territories, and throughout the following months, she worked to build her alliances and strengthen her defenses in case she was attacked by Cesare and his French allies. Her efforts at diplomacy did not work as she hoped: her uncle Lodovico Sforza was himself besieged by the French, who ousted him that summer from his position as Duke of Milan, and Florence did not want to alienate the Pope or the French. Caterina tried to negotiate with Alexander and his envoys, and might even have tried to assassinate him in the hope that Cesare would stop his quest if he lost his father's backing. In November 1499, she sent a packet of letters to the pope that, according to rumors, were poisoned.[136] In any case, Alexander lived on and so Caterina continued her preparations for war. On the home front, she rallied the Riario subjects, recruited and trained soldiers, collected money and supplies, and built up her fortresses.[137] Ottaviano even returned to Forlì to speak to the town officials and nobles for support, and went on to Imola to prepare that fortress for siege.

When Cesare Borgia came through the Riario territories with his troops in December 1499, the castellan at Imola and the local government of Forlì both surrendered without a fight, but Caterina refused to leave the Rocca di Ravaldino and fought alongside her troops.[138] She had professed to Lodovico Sforza in 1498. when she asked for his help in defending herself in the context of other conflicts, "if I have to perish, even if I am a woman, I want to perish like a man."[139] Now faced with an actual invasion, her sentiments seem to have been the same. She battled for several days until Cesare's French troops finally breached a wall, overwhelmed her men, and took her prisoner on 12 January 1500. Cesare Borgia made his grand triumphal entry into Rome later that winter, carrying his spoils of war, but observers do not mention Caterina as part of the parade.[140] Although she was one of the few rulers in the Papal States who had personally faced him when under siege and was a prized captive because of it, Borgia decided not to include her in the procession. This might have been because such a public display of a woman's defeat was considered demeaning and outside of social codes; or perhaps any public recognition of her heroism might have inspired antipathy toward Cesare. Instead, she was quietly escorted to house arrest

within the Belvedere Palace adjacent to Saint Peter's. Her reversal of fortune was complete—she who had once entered Imola, Forlì, and Rome in triumph as bride, consort, and regent was now stripped of virtually all her authority.

Despite the Borgias' plans, Caterina survived her ordeal and was released in July 1501. During her imprisonment, she was moved from the relatively pleasant Belvedere to the dungeons of the Castel Sant'Angelo, the fortress she once had controlled in Girolamo's name. The transfer was a punishment for her attempted escape, and the pope hoped that she might waste away unseen there.[141] But her sons and Raffaele Riario pled her cause with the French captain in Borgia's troops who had initially captured her. According to French law, women could not be taken as prisoners of war. Instead of risking the loss of his alliance with France and jeopardizing the loyalties of Cesare's French troops, Alexander decided to let her go. Until she formally renounced her regency of the Riario states, she was sequestered in Rome and lived in Raffaele's magnificent and newly completed palace (now called the Cancelleria) off the Campo de' Fiori. She finally signed the agreement, paid the pope a fee of 2000 ducats, and was allowed to leave. She received an invitation to reside in Florence, where she had received citizenship in 1498 and where she had sent her children and goods before Cesare's invasion.[142] She had nowhere more compelling to go: her natal family had been ousted from Milan, the Riario territories were lost, and she had few ties in Rome. She could start afresh in Florence, where she could watch the developments in the nearby Romagna.

Once freed Caterina immediately tried to regain some of her former authority and position. Without the income from the Riario territories, she also needed to alleviate her greatly reduced circumstances. She complained of her poverty to her sons Ottaviano and Cesare in July 1502.[143] Letters reveal that she was making shirts for a distant relative in France, Benedetto Balear Sforza Riario; she probably sent him the shirts as a favor, something noble women often did, but she likely hoped he would repay her generosity with a gift of some value to improve her situation.[144] Her real desire was that either she or Ottaviano would retake the Riario states in the Romagna, and she plotted with her sons and allies to that end.[145] They were particularly optimistic when Alexander VI died in 1503 and his son Cesare lost much of his power; their hope grew when he died the following year. Despite her campaign, though, many of Caterina's former subjects were skeptical about her ability to be regent; they gave more support

to Ottaviano's outright rule. The new pope, Julius II, even though he was a cousin of the Riario sons, decided the matter in 1504 when he returned Imola and Forlì to direct papal control.[146] The Riario family never reentered political life as the vicars of their former states, and the sons pursued other careers.

While the fate of the Riario unfolded, Caterina also waged a battle in the Florentine courts over the custody of her Medici son and his estate. When Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici died, she initially won custody of his son. This was contrary to custom among the elite—children usually stayed with their father's family because a mother's allegiance could be jeopardized by a future remarriage.[147] The issue was further complicated by the fact that Giovanni had died without a will and his estate was in question. Florentine law dictated that the Magistrate dei Pupilli, an office established to protect the rights of children whose fathers died intestate, would have to determine the details of guardianship and inheritance. Giovanni's brother Lorenzo challenged Caterina's petition to the Pupilli; he wanted to oversee the education of his nephew and control the large estate. Nevertheless, the Pupilli granted Caterina custody of the child in August 1499.[148] Documents pertaining to the case refer to Caterina's as Giovanni's wife—the earliest mention of their marriage to come to light in legal records—and the court seems to have accepted the legitimacy of the union. The boy, also named Giovanni, lived with her until she sent him to Florence along with her other children in the fall of 1499 when she was threatened with attack by Cesare Borgia. Early the following year Lorenzo took advantage of her downfall to reopen the Pupilli case, and by the end of April 1500, he had obtained the guardianship of Giovanni.[149] Caterina protested the situation from prison, and, as soon as she was freed, she fought the latest verdict.[150] After some deliberation, the Pupilli returned to their initial decision and granted her custody of Giovanni in 1505.[151] The outcome made practical sense: Lorenzo had died in 1503—some said because of this legal battle—and his own sons wanted the case resolved. But Caterina was not completely triumphant in her dealings with Lorenzo. As a counter to the Pupilli case, before his death, Lorenzo sued Caterina through the Tribunale della Mercanzia for repayment of loans he and his brother Giovanni had made to her in the 1490s.[152] She had loaned the brothers money herself, but the records showed her accounts to be in the red, and so she paid back her debts. Most important, though, was that she now held the legal guardianship of the young Giovanni and his inherited estate, which included the Medici villas of Castello and

Trebbio, at the time both farm-villas that generated healthy incomes.

Caterina was now more securely situated and she focused on the proper duties of the widowed mother, devoted to her children's futures. She oversaw the Medici estates and Giovanni's education, which included horseback riding and hunting lessons that would help prepare him for a career as a man-of-arms. She continued to boost the careers of her Riario sons, who wrote frequently to her asking for money and advice and never let her forget her obligation to see them better situated.[153] By 1507, Caterina's health was in decline, and after a long illness, she gave her final testament in Florence on 28 May 1509 and died soon thereafter. As she had stipulated in her will, she was given a modest funeral and then buried in a simple, unmarked grave in the Florentine convent of the Murate, which she had supported for several years.[154] After a life of triumphant public display, her final earthly moments offered little show.

Notes

1 "montò a cavalo per intrare la terra et non obstante che molte persone fussero venule incontra a la Sua S. per parecchie miglia da longo de la terra, ordinate li vene poy tra quelo spatio de via che e tra la casa onde ella demontò a Imola, parte de li citadini de quela a cavalo et parte a piedi con alcuni bastoni in mano per adriestare il cavallo de sua S. et parte remase a la porta. Insieme con li anziani de la terra quali le presentareno le chiavi e li diseno alcune parole intrando la terra la sua S. et con lei la compagnia se fece uno puoco di intermissione solo per vedere et audire alcuni versi et representatione al modo di Fiorenza, et parecchie se ne fecero da l'intrare de la terra fin a la scala del palazo che tucti erano in laude de la Ex. V. sue et del Conte Yeronimo." Letter to Bona of Savoy, dated 3 May 1477, Paris Bib. Nat. ital. 1592, fols. 110–11; fully transcribed in P.D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, doc. 93, pp. 42–46, quote on pp. 43–44. Volume three of Pasolini's biography consists of his catalogue, transcription, and brief annotation of hundreds of documents related to Caterina. He later published more documents in "Nuovi Documenti su Caterina Sforza," *Atti e memorie delle R. Deputazione storia patria per le province di romagna,* series III, 15 (1897): 72–209. References to these published documents are included in the notes throughout this book; unless otherwise indicated, these references indicate that Pasolini fully transcribed the document. Quoted material from the primary sources directly related to Caterina Sforza is transcribed in the original language in the endnotes of this book. The original language of quotations from published Early Modern treatises and texts, such as those by Leon Battista Alberti and Giovanni Pontano, is not included because of its wide availability.

2 H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals—Politics and Performance, Event and Record," in J.R. Mulryne and E. Goldring (eds), *Court Festival of the European Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 16.

3 S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), p. 162; see also P Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT, 1992).

4 L.B. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. R.N. Watkins (Columbia, 1969), p. 140.

5 B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans G. Bull (New York, 1967), esp. pp. 112–15; N. Machiavelli, *The Prince,* in N. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others,* trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 5–96, esp. 66–67.

6 Watanabe-O' Kelly, p. 15.

7 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 84.

8 Ibid., pp. 81–82.

9 Ibid., p. 84.

10 G. Pontano. "Il trattato della Magnificenza," in *I trattati delle virtù sociale,* trans. and ed. F. Tateo (Rome, 1965), pp. 231–64. See also A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 162–70.

11 J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London, 1990), p. 256. For his discussion of secular festivals in the Italian courts, see pp. 262–70.

12 For pageantry and processions in Renaissance Italy, see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 185–211. For triumphal entries, see A. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London, 1979), pp. 47–55; and B. Wisch and S.S. Munshower (eds), *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (2 vols., University Park, 1990).

13 Burckhardt, p. 256.

14 A. Giulini, "Un probabile progetto matrimoniale per Caterina Sforza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* series IV, XIX (1913), pp. 220–23. In September 1468 Galeazzo Maria offered Caterina as a potential marriage partner, along with several other Sforza daughters and cousins, to Galeotto del Carretto, the marchese of Finale. Carretto died young, and Caterina was next promised in marriage to Count Onorato Torelli, who died in 1471. Her next fiancé was Guidaccio Manfredi, but his political worth shifted enough for Galeazzo Maria to cancel the alliance.

15 E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago* (Chicago, 1967), p. 18. For Girolamo and his family, see Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 1, pp. 87–95.

16 Contanza Fogliani, the Duke's cousin, was the first choice for his bride until her mother Gabriella Gonzaga withdrew her name due to problems with the marriage settlement. Giulini, pp. 220–22.

17 The documents regarding the marriage negotiations can be found in the ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 72 (documents dated 17 and 23 January 1474); Registri Ducale, I, n. 24, cc. 123, 137–38: Registri delle missive, III, cc. 18–19, 21–23; and in the ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, busta H2. Many of these marriage documents are transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 54–62, pp. 22–29.

18 C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento," in C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1987). pp. 213–46.

19 Once Girolamo received the dowry, he sent a receipt to Milan and promised to invest the 10,000 ducats within one or two years in goods and lands in the state of Milan, Florence, or Siena, for Caterina's security. Pasolini paraphrases this document from the ASMi, dated 22 April 1477, but does not give its full citation; *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 79, p. 36. Systems of currency in fifteenth-century Italy were quite complex, and numerous monetary demonations are cited throughout this book. For further information on the various currencies, readers are encouraged to consult, R. A. Goldthwaite and J. Mandich, *Studi sulla moneta fiorentina* (Florence, 1994), esp. pp. 10–27; and A. Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente presso tutti i populi* (Turin, 1883; reprint Rome, 1976).

20 For the purchase of Imola, see the letter from Galeazzo Maria to Pietro Riario dated 28 October 1473, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 73.

21 The bull of investiture for Giralamo's vicariate, dated 5 November 1473, is located in the ASV, Armarium XXXV, 37, fols 85–88.

22 Letter of 29 January 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Registri Ducale, n. 133, c. 9; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 73, p. 34.

23 Letter of 9 February 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Registri Ducale, n. 133, c. 14; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3. doc. 74, pp. 34–35.

24 Several ambassadorial letters record Caterina's entrances on this journey. See letters dated 15 April, 3 and 4 May 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 186; and 17 and 20 May 1477, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83. Many of these are transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 77–105, pp. 35–58. Regarding her expenses in Bologna, see the documents from the Archivio di Stato, Bologna, Archivio del Coniune di Bologna, Riformatori, IX, Libri partitorum, VIII, c. 106; and Libri Mandatorum, XIX, cc. 135v—136; summarized in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza, vol.* 3, docs 118–22, p. 62.

25 For the reception of Eleonora of Aragon, see L.P Baiunan, "Power and Image:

Delia Rovere Patronage in late Quattrocento Rome" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990), pp. 86–95. See also C. Corvisieri, "Il trionfo romano di Eleonora d'Aragona nel giugno del 1472," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 1 (1878): 475–92; 10 (1887): 629–89; G. Ferroni, "Sulla poliltica festiva di Pietro Riario," in P. Brezzi and M. de Panizza Lorch (eds), *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del Convegno* (Rome, 1984), pp. 47–65; F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages,* trans. A. Hamilton (Italica, 2008), vol. 7, part 1, pp. 249–52 (and through p. 287 for key events in the lives of Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza).

26 Document dated 23 February 1477, ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, busta H2; paraphrased in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 75, p. 35.

27 For Galeazzo Maria Sforza's entrance into Florence, see B. Corio, *Storia di Milano* (3 vols., Milan, 1855–57), vol. 3. pp. 260–62.

28 Document dated 15 April 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 82, p. 37; Breisach, *Caterina Sforza,* pp. 27; 272, n. 97. Bossi was well paid for his chaperone services and the expenses he incurred along the way. Bona of Savoy estimated that the journey would take fifty days, and with the ten horses Bossi alone needed, his expected expenses came to 435 Lire, 18 Soldi and 9 denari, reimbursed on 26 April 1477. See also the two documents dated 26 April 1477, both transcribed, but not givenfull citations, in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3. docs 86–87, pp. 39–40.

29 Letter of 4 May 1477 to Bona of Savoy from Gianluigi Bossi, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46–47.

30 Ibid.; and the letter dated 3 May 1477, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Ms. Ital. 1592, fols 110–11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 80, p. 36; doc. 91, pp. 42–46.

31 Letter dated 3 May 1477, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Ms. Ital. 1592, fols 110–11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 80, p. 36; doc. 91, pp. 42–46; quote on p. 45.

32 Watanabe-O'Kelly, p. 15.

33 Letter dated 28 May 1477 to Bona of Savoy from the "servitores aulici et consocii 111.ma Dominae Katerine," ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 105, pp. 56–57.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Letter dated 18 May 1477 from an illegible sender to Bona of Savoy, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 81; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 100, pp. 50–51.

37 Letter dated 28 May 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83; Pasolini. *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3. doc. 105, pp. 56–57.

38 "il di del Spiritu Sancto feci la intrata de dentro da Roma et fui acompagnata con tanto triopho quanto dona fusse gia grande tempo in queste parte et asay bene onorata, et troppo bene presentata et honorevolmente no dico fructi zoje asay et argenterie asay." Letter dated 28 May 1477 from Caterina Sforza to her sister Chiara, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 84; Pasolini. *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, p. 53. doc. 104.

39 For example Pietro Riario chose similar mythologies to be performed at the reception of Eleonora of Aragon in Rome during her wedding journey four years earlier. See Bauman, "Power and Image," pp. 89–90. For wedding imagery, see C. Baskins, *Cassone Painting: Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1998); Y. Even, "The Loggia dei Lanzi: a showcase of female subjugation," in N. Broude and M.D. Garrard (eds), *The Expanding Discourse* (NY, 1992), pp. 127–38; and E. Callmann, "The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as Seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings," *Studies in Iconography* 5 (1979): 73–92.

40 An account of the joust appears in E. Narducci, *Li Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri* (Rome, 1873), p. 26; Pasolini. *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1382, p. 558.

41 See, for instance, R. Schofield, "A Humanist Description of the Architecture for the Wedding of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella d'Aragona (1489)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 213–40.

42 Watanabe-O'Kelly, pp. 19–21.

43 The two territories were separated by the vicariate of Faenza, ruled by the Manfredi. The bull of investiture for Girolamo with Forlì can be found in the AS V, Armarium XXXV, 37, cc. 177–84. For a thorough history of the city during the fifteenth century, see M. Foschi and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; la sua città* e *il suo tempo* (Milan, 1994).

44 Caterina gave birth to a daughter in late October 1481, and the Duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Sforza, wrote his congratulations to her on 8 November 1481, ASMi, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 90; see Breisach, p. 57. Caterina may have given birth to another child as well. Jacopo Foresti, in his biography of Caterina, states that "she gave birth to eight children by her husband" (quae jam in adolescentia sua octo ex viro suo edidit partus). J. Foresti, *De Claris sceletisque mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497), pp. CLX-CLXV, quote on p. CLXIV; transcribed in P.D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 272–76; quote on p. 275. The English translation of Foresti's text, used throughout this book, is by Scott Smith. It is possible that Foresti included Carlo Feo (b. 1490) in his tally of Caterina's children by Girolamo. See also the genealogical table published in the section of plates after p. 54 in Breisach, which includes an entry for a child born in 1483; Breisach does not discuss the child beyond this mention. The Riario children's names reveal the family's interest in classical allusion (Ottaviano and Cesare) and family legacy

(Galeazzo, Francesco, and Bianca, the latter two in reference to relatives on both sides of the family) and in paying homage to their territories (Giovanni Livio, after Forum Livio, the ancient Roman name of Forlì).

45 A. Bernardi, *Cronache Forlivesi*, ed. G. Mazzantinti (2 vols., Bologna, 1895), vol. 1, part 1, p. 132.

46 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 203–7; L. Cobelli, *Cronache Forlivesi dalla fondazione della città sino all'anno 1498*, eds G. Carducci and E. Frati (Bologna, 1874), pp. 259–61.

47 For accounts of this visit and the triumphal entry, see Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 58–60; Cobelli, pp. 263–67; letter dated 15 July 1481 from the Milanese ambassador Antonio Appiani to the Duke of Milan in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romanga, c. 192 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 162, p. 75); and the anonymous account dated 15 July 1481 in BNCF, Ms. II 368 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 163, pp. 76–78).

48 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 58–60; Cobelli, pp. 263–67.

49 BNCF, Ms. II 368; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 163, pp. 76–78.

50 F. Mancini, "Le monete dei Riario singori di Imola e di Forlì," in *Atti del Associazionie per Imola Storico Artistico* IX (1977), pp. 95–97; E. Gnecchi, "Un Quattrino di Caterina Riario Sforza, Signora di Forlì," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XVIII (1905): 493–98.

51 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 40–41, 59–61, 67–69.

52 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat 547, c. 8. The papal bull is transcribed in F. Mancini, "Le monete," pp. 105–6; and in G. Zanetti, *Nuova raccolta delle monete e zecche d'Italia* (5 vols., Bologna, 1775–86), vol. 2, pp. 455–68, esp. 459.

53 The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II had granted the Forlivesi the privilege of using the Imperial Eagle in the 13th century. Zanetti, vol. 2, p. 455.

54 "Philip II," *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* Ed. M. Cary, et al. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1949), p. 679.

55 See J. Cunnally, "Ancient Coins as Gifts and Tokens of Friendship during the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6/2 (1994), pp. 129–43; R.M.R. Bresler, "Between Ancient and all' Antica: The Imitation of Roman Coins in the Renaissance" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 2002).

56 For Caterina's medals, see A. Gottschewscki, *Über die Porträts der Caterina Sforza* (Strassburg, 1908); G.F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini* (2 vols., London, 1930), vol 1. pp. 265–66 and 296; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici, 15th-18th centuries* (3 vols., Florence, 1981–87), vol. 1, cat. no. 18, pp. 356–61; vol. 3, p. 1528; E. Luciano, "Medals of Women from the Italian Renaissance Courts: From Cecilia Gonzaga to Isabella of Aragon" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1997), pp.

232–46; E. Corradini and E. Luciano, "Ritratti fenmiinili sulle medaglie," in V. Novielli (ed.), *Caterina Sforza una donna del Cinquecento* (Imola, 2000), pp. 147–62; and J. de Vries. "Caterina Sforza's Portrait Medals: Power. Gender, and Representation in the Renaissance Court," *Woman's Art Journal* 24/1 (2003): 23–28.

57 The medal shows a stylistic similarity to the work of the Venetian metalworker Vettor di Antonio Gambello, who executed a medal of Sixtus IV presumably before the latter's death in 1484 (Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals*, vol. 1, cat. no. 437, pp. 115— 16). Caterina may have commissioned the medal from Gambello while he was in Rome, or when she and Girolamo paid a diplomatic visit to Venice in 1481. It is also possible that Caterina saw examples of Gambello's work at that time and ordered it later.

58 See J. Woods-Marsden, "How Quattrocento princes used art: Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini and *cose militari," Renaissance Studies* 3/4 (1989): 387—414; S.K. Scher (ed.), *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York, 1994);L. Syson, "Reading Faces: Gian Cristoforo Romano's Medal of Isabella d'Este," in C. Mozzarelli, R. Oresko, and L. Ventura (eds), *La Corte di Mantova nell'età di Andrea Mantenga: 1450–1550* (Rome, 1997), pp. 281–94. See also M. Jones (ed.). *Designs on Posterity: Drawings for Medals* (London, 1994).

59 In general, few examples of medals from the Renaissance-era survive. Cast in bronze and less frequently in silver or gold, they were often melted down and the metal reused. Thus, if there is no documentation of a commission, it is difficult to know exactly how many examples of a medal were cast. There are at least six surviving examples of this medal of Caterina (in the Münzkabinett of the State Museums, Berlin; the British Museum, London; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Medagliere Municipale, Castello Sforzesco, Milan; and in private collections).

60 Some fundamental articles on the topics of female portraiture and issues of beauty are: E. Cropper, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," in M.W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 175–90; P. Simons, "Women in Frames: the Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *History Workshop* (Spring 1988): 4–30. and P. Simons, "Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women," in A. Brown (ed.), *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 263–311.

61 I thank Eric Hostetter for bringing this to my attention.

62 Cobelli, p. 267. See also the letter of 7 September 1481 from Antonio Appiani to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Faenza; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 182. pp. 87–88.

63 Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Secreti Deliberazione, Reg. 30, carte 15–16 (25 May 1481); and carta 33 terzo (1 September 1481); Archivio di Stato,

Venezia, Senato Terra Deliberazione, Reg. 8, carta 129 (5 September 1481); each transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol, 3. docs 155 and 156, pp. 73–74; doc. 179, p. 86; and doc. 181, p. 87, respectively. The certificate of Venetian nobility given to Girolamo can be found in ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, busta H2.

64 Breisach, p. 55; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 115–16.

65 Letter of 22 September 1481 from Pietro Andrea Inviziati to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Comuni, Cotignola, Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 185, p. 88.

66 Beniardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 201–10.

67 Letter of 5 October 1481 from Antonio Appiani to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Faenza; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 186, pp. 88–89.

68 Letter of 7 May 1483 from the Milanese ambassador in Rome to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 210, p. 95; Breisach, pp. 62–63.

69 Letter of 15 June 1483 from the Duke of Milan to Caterina, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Forlì; paraphrased only in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 212, p. 95.

70 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 211–14.

71 Antonio Burriel noted that the procession was still performed annually when he wrote his biography of Caterina in the late eighteenth century. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario* (3 vols., Bologna, 1795), vol. 1, p. 116.

72 Letters of 15 and 18 August 1484 from Guidantonio Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, ASF, MAP, Filza 39, c. 286; and of 15 August 1484 from S. Guidotti to the Marquis of Mantua, ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, E XXV, 3, Roma, b. 847; transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 222 and 224, pp. 99–100: Pasolini, "Nuovi Documenti," doc. 13, pp. 147–49. For the events regarding the Riario family after the death of Sixtus, see Breisach, pp. 68–74; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 145–53.

73 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 125.

74 Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, p. 177.

75 Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, pp. 151–53; Cobelli, pp. 290–92.

76 L.F. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages* (16 vols., St. Louis, 1923), vol. 4, pp. 304–6; M. Pellegrini, *Congiure de Romagnci; Lorenzo de'Medici e il duplice tirannicidio a Forlì e a Faenza nel 1488* (Florence, 1999), pp. 15–88; and L. Martines, *April Blood* (Oxford, 2003), esp. Chapter 9.

77 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 207, 217–25; and Cobelli, pp. 299–302.

78 For the assassination and the events that followed, see Breisach, pp. 96–102;

Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 195–262. See also Martines, pp. 7–12.

79 Breisach, pp. 90–95.

80 See, for instance, Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*; Castiglione; and G. Dominici, *La Nobilita delle donne* (Venice, 1549). See also S. ffolliott, "Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow," in *Rewriting the Renaissance,* pp. 227–41; M.L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago and London, 1991); M.E. Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993); J.C. Brown and R.C. Davis (eds), *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London and New York, 1998); and C.L. Carlson and A.J. Weisl (eds), *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999).

81 S.L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2002), p. 52; see also K. Crawford, "Catherine de' Médicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31/3 (2000): 643–73.

82 The version of events presented here is taken from the contemporary, historical somces and not the later, legendary accounts. See Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 229–74; Cobelli, pp. 316–46; and several letters to Lorenzo de' Medici and others reporting on the events, transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 269–81, pp. 114–24. See also Breisach, pp. 102–13; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 1, pp. 240–62. For a full discussion of the differences between the various versions, see J.L. Hairston, "Skirting the Issue: Machiavelli's Caterina Sforza," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53/3 (2000): 687–712.

83 Hairston, pp. 698–99; Cobelli, p. 322.

84 While she took power on 30 April 1488, the official bull of investiture is dated 15 August 1488, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Armarium XXV, 38, cc. 98–100.

85 For accounts of the ceremonies, see Cobelli, pp. 332–33; Bernardi, vol. 1. part 1, pp. 255–57; see also Breisach, pp. 117–22; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 1, pp. 263–86.

86 C.E. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300–1550* (Manchester, 1998), Chapter 1.

87 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 262. See also a letter dated 19 April 1488 to Lorenzo de' Medici from Stefano da Castrocaro, his ambassador in Faenza: ASF, MAP, Filza 40, n. 286, cc. 301–2; Pasolini, vol. 3, doc. 269, pp. 114–15.

88 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 258.

89 P. Bedeschi, "Le vicende della tomba di Girolamo Riario nella Cattedrale di Imola," *Atti dell'Associazione per Imola Storica Artistica* IX (1977): 165–70.

90 K. Curry, "'Four Weddings and a Funeral': Festival Forms and Dynastic Consolidation in Ducal Lorraine, 1563–1624," in K. Friedrich (ed.), *Festive Culture in Germany and Europe from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century* (Lewiston, NY, 2000), p. 144.

91 Breisach, pp. 120–22; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 1, pp. 287–313.

92 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 321–22.

93 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* vol. 1, p. 265. There are at least six surviving examples of the medal; they can be found in the Münzkabinett of the State Museum, Berlin; the Bargello Museum, Florence; the British Museum, London; and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and in private collections. Hill interprets the two initials under the obverse portrait as an abbreviation for "que comitissa," to be read as "countess of." I hesitate to agree with this interpretation since the letters are virtually illegible. Luciano, in "Medals of Women," p. 242, posits that they could be instead an artist's mark. See also A.R. Flaten, "Niccolò Fiorentino and the Image of Humanism: Portrait Medals in late Quattrocento Florence" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2001), pp. 271, 287.

94 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* vol. 1, p. 250, and vol. 2, cat. no. 945.

95 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 274; vol. 1, part 2, p. 73; see also Breisach, pp. 124–28.

96 The first of these was Branda Castiglione, who arrived in May 1488; Breisach, pp. 124–35. There are numerous letters in the ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romanga, in which ambassadors report Caterina's activities to Lodovico; see Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3 for transcriptions of some.

97 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 302; Breisach, pp. 131–32; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 319–20.

98 Girolamo Savonarola urges widows to live like nuns, implying they should refrain from sex, in his *Libro della vita vidtiale,* in *Operette Spirituale*, ed. M. Ferrara, *Opere di Girolamo Savonarola* (2 vols., Rome, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 9–62. See also King, *Renaissance Women Patrons,* pp. 32–33.

99 C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The 'Cruel Mother': Maternity, Widowhood, and Dowry in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1987), pp. 117–31.

100 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 298–99.

101 Breisach, pp. 129–31; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 317–18.

102 "Carolo ejus filio legiptimo et naturali nato ex ipsa Ill.ma domina testatrice, et magnifico viro domino Iacobo Feo Savonense eius seciuido viro legiptimo ...". Regarding Giovanni di Giovanni di Pierfrancesco: "Ioanni ejus filio legiptimo et naturali nato ex dicta Ill.ma domina testatrice et quondam

bone memorie Ioannis olim Pier Franciscì de Medicis cive fiorentino ultimo viro legiptimo ...". ASF, MAP, Filza 99, n. 38. cc. 112–42; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1355, pp. 537–47, quote on p. 542.

103 See the historiography regarding her marriage to Giovanni in Breisach, pp. 323–24, note 126.

104 Breisach, pp. 132–35; 139—40; 147; 153–65; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 1, pp. 322–31.

105 Cobelli, pp. 348–50.

106 See the letters from Florentine ambassadors to Lorenzo de' Medici in ASF, MAP, Filza 54, n. 168, c. 167 (25 May 1493); Filza 18, n 267, c. 326 (13 July 1494); and the letter to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1043 (27 May 1494). Pasolini, Caterina Sforza, vol. 3, docs 471, 518, 528, pp. 186–88; 204–5; 209–10.

107 Breisach, pp. 153–54; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, p. 358; vol. 3, doc. 530, p. 210.

108 See, for instance, the letter of 21 May 1493 to Piero de' Medici from the Florentine ambassador Puccio Pucci, who describes his reception by Caterina and Giacomo, ASF, MAP, Filza 54, n. 145, cc. 144–45; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 467, pp. 181–83.

109 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 97–99; Cobelli, pp. 381–84.

110 Cobelli, pp. 390–92; letter of 4 September 1495 from Francesco Tranchedini to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Bologna (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 586, pp. 229–300); and Breisach, *Caterina Sforza,* pp. 163–67.

111 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 122.

112 There is some confusion over the iconography on the coins. Ercole Gnecchi published his discovery of one of the Saint Mercurialis coins in 1905, with the inscription of "S. MERCVRIALIS," and so corrected Bernardi's assertion that the name was spelled out, "SANTUS MERCURIALIS," (vol. 1, part 2, p. 122); see Gnecchi, pp. 1–6. Fabio Oliva, in his biography of Caterina written in the mid-16th century, records the name as "S. MERCURIALIS FOROL. PROTECT," or "Saint Mercurialis Protector of Forlì," see *Vita di Caterina Sforza, Signora di Forlì* (Forlì, 1821), p. 112.

113 The sources offer conflicting information on the details of the inscription. It may have been "CS" with "Sforza Sforcia Vicecomes" or "CSF" with only "Vicecomes." The latter formula seems more likely, although the repetition of the Sforza name in the former may not have been accurately recorded.

114 J. Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles in the Renaissance: Symbols of 'Signoria'/ Symbols of Tyranny," *Art Journal* 48/2 (1989): 130–37.

115 According to the seventeenth-century historian Matteo Vecchiazzani, Caterina

may also have minted four coins in Forlimpopoli in 1496. Two featured an image of the Rocca of Forlimpopoli on the obverse, accompanied by different inscriptions: "ARXLIVII (on a ten *baiocchi* piece)" and "ARXPOMPILII" (on a twenty *baiocchi* piece). Together. LIVII and POMPILII make the name of the ancient city, Forum Livii Pompoli; the ARX refers to the fortress. On the reverse was the motto "From here this most great guardian, peace" or "From this, a most secure rest" (HINC TUTISSIMA QUIES); Tutissima, the superlative of Tutrix, could refer to Caterina or the Rocca. Like the image of the Rocca di Ravaldino, the fortress here served to set forth the power of the city and its ruler. Another coin, worth forty *baiocchi,* presented Saint Cassiano, the patron saint of Imola and its Duomo; Caterina's initials "CS" were on the reverse with the motto "The Lord gave" (DOMINUS DEDIT). This coin was probably intended for circulation in Imola, where the image of Saint Cassiano would have been most potent. A forth coin of unknown value presented Saints Ruffillo and Mercurialis throwing a dragon into a well: on the reverse was Ottaviano's bust with his name "OCTAVIANUS RIARIUS COMES." This coin acknowledged Ottaviano's position as ruler, even if he was still a minor, and the image of the holy knights placed Ottaviano into a military tradition. Vecchiazzani, in his description, may have recorded an oral tradition without having seen the coins, which do not seem to be extant; there is no other evidence of their existence. See M. Vecchiazzani, *Historai di Forlimpopoli* (Rimini, 1647), pp. 186–87. See also Mancini, "Le monete," p. 103. I would like to thank Timothy S. Jones for his help in deciphering the coins' mottos,

116 Both quotes are from Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 122.

117 A receipt for her loan to the brothers is dated 14 February 1495, ASF, MAP, Filza 83, n. 40, c. 210; see also Filza 137, n. 1009. The copybook of Caterina's letters and orders to the brothers is in ASF, MAP, Filza 90, n. 11, cc. 228–96.

118 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 412–13; Cobelli, p. 413; Breisach, pp. 175–78; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 3–15.

119 G. Pieraccini, G. *La Stirpe de'Medici di Cafaggiolo* (3 vols., Florence: Nardini, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 345–52; A. Brown, "Pierfrancesco de' Medici, 1430–1476: A Radical Alternative to Elder Medicean Supremacy?" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979), pp. 81–103.

120 The document, dated 23 July 1498, is transcribed in Burriel, vol. 3, pp. lxxiii-lxxv.

121 Letter dated 2 December 1496, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 707, pp. 261–62.

122 Letter dated 5 January 1497, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 710, pp. 264–67.

123 This began in 1494, when nobles complained to Raffaele Riario of Giacomo Feo's power. See also note 108, above.

124 Letters dated 16 and 18 August 1494, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Forlì; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 1406 and 1407, p. 570. Milan offered Ottaviano a contract, but at a price that Caterina did not find acceptable—10,000 ducats a year.

125 For the contract, dated 9 June 1498, see ASF, MAP, Filza 78, n. 56, cc. 180–85; noted in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 777, p. 291. See also Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 185.

126 In fact, the Riario sons officially ceded the administration of their family states to Caterina on 18 May 1499, soon after Pope Alexander VI cancelled the family's papal vicariates. This official document suggests that Caterina had only been serving temporarily, and only now took on more power. See ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, Busta H2; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1034, p. 384.

127 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 90–110.

128 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals*, vol. 1, cat. no. 1015, pp. 265–66. An excellent example of this later medal can be found in the British Museum, London. Hill argues convincingly that the widow version must be the original: the line of the revealed hair and neck mimic the lines of the widow's veil, something neither naturalistic nor desirable if a new or independent medal was being formulated. Also, he sees that the cramped inscription on the widow version is corrected and neatly spaced on the later adaptation. Luciano asserts that Caterina updated the medal to celebrate her marriage to Giovanni de' Medici in 1498, "Medals of Women," p. 242.

129 Syson, "Reading Faces," pp. 281–94.

130 L. Landucci, *A Florentine Diary from 1450to 1516,* trans. A. de Rosen Jervis (London, 1927), p. 146. Cobelli notes that Ottaviano left Forlì on 20 June 1498, p. 414.

131 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* vol. 1, p. 266, and vol. 2, cat. no. 1016. According to Hill, at least five examples of Ottaviano's medal were extant in 1930. The Museo Civico of Imola has the only example that I could confirm, and this is likely a later copy of the fifteenth-century original.

132 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 254; M. Ravegnani Morosini, *Signore e Principati; monete italiane con ritratto 1450–1796* (3 vols., Dogana, Republic of San Marino, 1984), vol. 3, pp. 93–94; Gnecchi, pp. 1–6; and Zanetti, pp. 5–20. As on the earlier coins, Caterina did not incorporate the Riario name into her inscription, although the family territories are certainly included; both did feature " Visconti." While Girolamo gained the privilege of using the Visconti name when he married Caterina and his son inherited that right, it is also possible that here it might indicate the title of Viscount. It is difficult to tell if there was a distinction between the family name and the title, or if its use indicated both meanings. Caterina signed her name with it often, but had not used the name on her medals from Niccolò Fiorentino.

133 Welch, *Art and Authority,* pp. 8–9, 218–23.

134 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 226.

135 Papal bull dated 9 March 1499, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arma. XXXV, 41, cc. 86–89v.

136 Bernardi, vol 1, part 2, p. 295. See also Breisach, pp. 335–36, note 80.

137 Breisach, pp. 205–11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 2, pp. 154–69.

138 Breisach, pp. 218–40; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 170–203.

139 "Et io se liavesse a perdere, ancora che sia donna, voria perdere virilmente." Letter of 25 August 1498, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1048; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 837, p. 303.

140 Bernardi mentions Cesare's grand entrance, but does not include any details: vol. 1, part 2, p. 290. Burriel later asserted that Cesare included Caterina in the triumphal entry and paraded her as the Roman Emperor Aurelian had paraded his prisoner Queen Zenobia; vol. 3, p. 816. For discussion of the legendary tradition of the entrance, see Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, p. 242.

141 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 296.

142 See the letter dated 8 July 1501, written by Caterina's confessor Francesco Fortunati to her sons Ottaviano and Cesare Riario; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1147, pp. 455–56. See also Cesare Riario's letter to her from Florence, dated 7 November 1499, in ASF, MAP, Filza 71, c. 42.

143 Two letters dated 22 July 1502, one from Caterina to Ottaviano Riario, in ASF, MAP, Filza 77, c. 94, and the other to Cesare Riario, ASF, MAP, Filza 78. c. 211; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 1175 and 1176, pp. 467–69.

144 Pasolini cited and summarized three letters, dated 26 February, 17 March, and 11 April 1502, from Benedetto Balear Sforza Riario to Caterina in which he orders or thanks her for shirts. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 1161, 1163, and 1166, pp. 460–61. The letter of 11 April 1502 is in ASF, MAP, Filza 78, c. 199.

145 Breisach, pp. 249–55; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 305–21.

146 A letter dated 15 September 1503 from Cesare and Galeazzo Riario to their brother Ottaviano refers to this local animosity, ASF, MAP, Filza 77, n. 129, c. 128; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1189, p. 474.

147 T. Kuelin, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1991).

148 Caterina was named the official *tutrice* of Giovanni on 14 August 1499. See G. Pieraccini, *La Stirpe de'Medici di Cafaggiolo* (3 vols., Florence, 1986), vol. 1, p. 367; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 321–35; and Caterina's letters from September and November 1499 regarding Giovanni's tutelage

in ASF, MAP, Filza 79, multiple docs, Filza 125, c. 69, and Filza 70, c. 86; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 1079, 1080, and 1083, pp. 401–2. Although there is no mention of it in the Pupilli documents, according to the chronicler Bernardi, Caterina deposited 250,000 florins in Florence as security for her son and the right to rear him; Bernardi, vol. 2, p. 213.

149 Document dated 29 April 1500, ASF, MAP, Filza 95, n. 1, cc. 1–7.

150 She corresponded with her sons about the matter. See the letter of 4 July 1500 from Ottaviano and Cesare to Caterina, ASF, MAP, Filza 78, c. 127; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1135, pp. 449–51. Pasolini transcribes another pertinent letter in the ASF, MAP (Filza unknown), dated 11 May 1500, from Ottaviano, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1127, p. 445.

151 ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli avant il Principato, Filza 114, cc. 21–22, 158–61. 188; Filza 115, cc. 6–8, 150–54, 189–90; Filza 118, c. 91; Filza 119, c. 10, 133, 211; Filza 120, c. 80. The inventories of the properties owned by Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, including the *casa vecchia* in Florence and the villas at Castello, Cafaggiolo, Trebbio, and Fiesole, are in Filza 118, cc. 167–75. The document, dated 15 September 1507, records the division of the properties between the respective heirs. The estates were extensive: Pupilli taxes, recorded for Giovanni de' Medici over several years, are among the highest charged by the office for those years. The inventory entries are not detailed enough to determine whether any of Caterina's personal goods had made their way into the Medici accounts by this time, or if she later appropriated any of the Medici goods listed.

152 ASF, Tribunale di Mercanzia, Filza 1590 (unpaginated) entries under 21 and 28 January and 4 and 18 February 1502 (under the current calendar, 1503); Filza 1591 entries dated 4 and 23 March 1502 (1503); Filza 1593, entry dated 17 August 1503. Numerous copies of the documents for both the lawsuits can also be found in ASF, MAP, Filze 7, 66, 69, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 94, 95, 127, 128, 129, 146, 149, 156, and 159. In these papers, Giovanni de' Medici is referred to as Caterina's husband, and she, his wife.

153 See, for instance, Ottaviano's letters in ASF, MAP, Filza 70, c. 248, Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1297, p. 518; Filza 78, cc. 126, 228, 293, 294 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 1130, 1131, 1141, 1182, pp. 448, 454, 471); Filza 125, cc. 175, 182, 183, 225 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 1302, 1307, 1308, 1323, pp. 519–21, 526–27).

154 Caterina's will can be found in ASF, MAP, Filza 99, n. 38, cc. 112–42; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1355, pp. 537–47,

Chapter 2
Building Magnificence

> The size of [Caterina Sforza's] palace is equal to the palaces of the great leading men.
>
> —Jacopo Foresti, *Lives of Famous Women,* 1497[1]

The palace Caterina Sforza inhabited during her regency was comparable in more than just size to those of the great leading men of fifteenth-century Italy. This residence was adjacent to the Rocca di Ravaldino of Forlì, and Caterina refurbished it with new decorative elements and improved the land around it, adding a walled garden, a working farm, and an extensive hunting park. A sixteenth-century biographer claimed that she even built the palace itself. The Riario family previously resided in a palace in the center of Forlì; this had been the site of Girolamo's assassination and the object of local rage during the rebellion that followed. Caterina's choice to move to the Rocca was significant: on a practical level, the nearby fortress offered protection, and on a symbolic level, the new residence allowed her and her family to break with the past and live in a home untainted by the attack. Her position dictated that she reside in a secure and suitably impressive residence, and if her participation in ceremonies and ritual gave her subjects a brief glimpse of her well-crafted persona, her residence and other architectural projects more permanently attested to her public self as regent.

Unlike ephemeral festivities and performances, anyone at anytime could look at architecture, at least its exterior. Passersby assessed a building's structure, elevation, decoration, and materials and drew assumptions about the inhabitants' social, political, economic, and intellectual positions. Well-designed and impressive palaces stood as lasting public monuments to individual, familial, and communal greatness; particularly lavish palaces could be a manifestation of the humanist ideal of magnificence. In this manner, architecture served as the outermost facade of one's character, and like other carefully cultivated appearances, it could ensure or even advance the inhabitants' reputations. Caterina certainly knew how to demonstrate status with residences and other large-scale architectural projects. Up until this moment, she had lived in the luxurious palaces and castles

built, expanded, maintained, and/or refurbished by elite men, specifically her father Galeazzo Maria Sforza and her husband Girolamo Riario. During her marriage, she certainly advised on the furnishing of her apartments within her husband's houses and oversaw some properties of her own.[2] As regent, her domain of responsibility broadened to include all of the family properties in Imola. Forlì, and their surrounding territories, and she tried to preserve and improve these for her Riario descendents.

Jacopo Foresti's generic praise of her palace—he citeed only size, no details—indicates on the most basic level that Caterina adhered to the high standards of princely appearances and lifestyle; it also underscores the gendering of architecture and its production in Early Modern Italy. The short passage is just one of many instances in his *Lives of Famous Women* when the author favorably compares his female subjects to men and their behavior. For Foresti, and most others at the time, the ideal was male, and famous women merited praise in masculine terms. While this conceit often required him to revert to hyperbole, when he wrote of Caterina's palace, the comparison was particularly apt. Men dominated the sphere of architecture. Building required large sums of money, and men typically controlled the family finances. The Renaissance notion that buildings publically and continuously attested to personal or family character further associated architecture with a masculine sphere. Proper female behavior in the Renaissance was supposed to be less overt and more modest. Because of this, women more often commissioned smaller projects like family chapels, which also attested to piety, a recommended feminine virtue. Social mores like these have led some scholars to assume women were prohibited from commissioning large-scale architectural projects, but there is growing evidence of financially independent women who built family palaces and other structures, and who were not censured by their peers because of it.[3] If they were able, women could contribute to their family's patrimony by building. Economics, itself heavily influenced by issues related to social position and gender, seems to have determined whether one who wanted to build could actually carry out her plans. It might have been a fairly rare occurrence, but elite women like Lucrezia Borgia, Laura Pallavicini, and Eleonora of Toledo all built and/or refurbished palaces and other structures when they were able to access enough money. Their building activities might still be considered masculine: they are predicated on women performing roles such as head of household, overseer of family properties, manager of

finances, and generator of public appearances, all understood as predominantly masculine, but clearly sometimes within the range of women's responsibilities as well.

After she became regent and thus gained financial independence, Caterina Sforza embarked upon several building projects. She modeled her architectural commissions after those of other rulers, as was appropriate to her status, and maintained her family's primary residence as at least "equal" to the palaces of elite men. Architecture played a significant role within her portraiture iconography as well. The woodcut print that accompanies Jacopo Foresti's biography of Caterina features a walled town with an entrance gate and church and, in the countryside, roads, a bridge or aqueduct, and a towered fortress (Illustration 2.1). These structures amid the unfolding landscape were just as important as the profile pose, widow's veil, and baton of rulership to illustrate her status as regent of territories. The print may have been generically composed, in direct reference to neither Imola nor Forlì, but its elements clearly referred to her jurisdiction over the land and the built environment within her territories. In a similar fashion, Caterina utilized an image of the Rocca di Ravaldino for a coin she minted in 1496: her power and position were closely associated with the architectural structures she controlled.

2.1 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza,* **woodcut from Jacopo Foresti (Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis),** *De Plurimis claris sceletis [sic] q[ue] mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497)

When comparing Caterina's building projects to those of her husband Girolamo Riario, it becomes clear that while hers were less extensive, they were still fundamental to her statecraft as ruler. Limited income and the temporary and precarious nature of her position curtailed her architectural ambitions, not inclination or strictly gendered social codes. Girolamo used his vast financial resources to establish and build his status as prince and ruler of territories through numerous residential, military, and civic architectural commissions. Caterina, in comparison, sought to maintain and protect the family's status with the somewhat more modest and practical architectural projects that her budget allowed. Although they differed in scope, the architectural projects carried out by Caterina and Girolamo were similar in typology and purpose. Their residential, civic, and military buildings functioned on practical and symbolic levels: they housed and protected the family and its

courtiers, government appointees, servants, soldiers, and visitors; facilitated and defended urban and rural life; represented the family's political and social position and permanently marked its territories; and stood as proof of its magnificence.

Renaissance Architecture and the Humanist Ideal of *Magnificenza*

Because of its public nature, high expense, and permanence, architecture had long been one of the primary means for the elite to convey their status. During the Renaissance, grand, classically inspired architecture could project magnificence and bestow patrons with lasting fame. As Leon Battista Alberti explained in book two of his treatise *On Architecture* (*De re aedificatoria,* 1452), good design mattered: "a well-constructed building will enhance the renown of anyone who has invested understanding, attention, and enthusiasm in the matter."[4] Alberti's client, Giovanni Rucellai, a wealthy patron of architecture in fifteenth-century Florence, underscored architecture's importance (and masculinity) in his memoirs: "Men do two important things in this life: the first is to procreate, the second is to build."[5] Both provide for the continuation of a family's legacy, whether through heirs or real estate. Architecture's expense and permanence expressed magnificence, which was ultimately determined by the quality of its design and the breadth of its use. Magnificence connoted the highest order of status and required the public display of wealth and generosity—many of the same issues discussed in relation to public performances in Chapter 1, but to a larger degree. For a patron to achieve magnificence, he or she needed to build more than just a family palace. The humanist Giovanni Pontano praised princes' attentions to public building in his treatise *On Magnificence (De Magnificentia*, 1498), in which he noted that magnificence could manifest itself in commissions of permanent construction such as "illustrious palaces, well-made temples, theaters, porticoes, streets, and docks in the sea," and was revealed by "ornament, amplitude, excellence in materials, and the capacity of the object to last a long time."[6] Pontano believed that the financing of sumptuous public works was the apex of magnificence because of its inherent generosity, but commented that works intended for private use can still generate magnificence if they produced a beautiful environment that all can

enjoy. To illustrate his ideals, he cited the vast building projects of Renaissance princes, such as the walls Alfonso I erected around Naples, the streets Sixtus IV laid out in Rome, and the palaces and villas Borso d'Este built in his territories surrounding Ferrara.[7] Many of these well-designed projects are still visible and noteworthy today, and their continuing presence supports the theory that building magnificent architecture earns its patrons lasting fame.

While both church and state had traditionally discouraged public displays of private wealth, the new humanist ideology of the fifteenth century transformed the personal commissioning of grandiose architecture from a conspicuous and sinful endeavor into an indicator of virtue. In this manner, humanists justified existing practices for their patrons and encouraged more building. Theologians had previously limited acceptable forms of privately funded architectural projects to family and funerary chapels in existing churches or charitable donations toward a general building fund for a civic or religious foundation; family homes were supposed to be modest.[8] But, as James Lindow has demonstrated, fifteenth-century intellectuals began to revive a positive concept of wealth and display. They argued that both classical and medieval authors, such as Aristotle, Cicero, and St. Thomas Aquinas, approved of an individual's striving for personal fame through large-scale commissions because it ultimately benefited a larger community.[9] A grand palace, a new set of defensive walls, or a new monastery enriched and protected the urban environment, not just the reputation of the family who sponsored the building. On the broadest level, the structures and streets testified to the power and prestige of the patron and, by extension, of the neighborhood and the city. In the case of overtly public projects, such as churches, theatres, and streets, people used the spaces and experienced firsthand their good design, beauty, and efficiency, and so the beneficence of the patron affected their everyday lives. The more exclusive interior spaces of palaces served a narrower audience—beyond the extended family and its servants, only privileged guests such as diplomats and business associates experienced the splendid decorations and the rigid etiquette, but this access (or its lack in the case of outsiders) affirmed the social order. In these ways, architecture was more than a bold façade: it accommodated and shaped ritual practice and everyday life.

Now cast as working for the greater good through their expensive architectural projects, princes and other elites could build and ensure their legacy through the commission and renovation of private, civic, and religious edifices. Humanists and artists such as Alberti provided

guidelines for the building projects of the wealthy, as in his books on the family (*c*. 1437— 43) and architecture (1452).[10] By the end of the fifteenth century, Giovanni Pontano confirmed in his treatises on how to properly spend money that it was appropriate, even necessary, for rulers to distinguish their territories with symbolic commissions of residences, fortresses, chapels and churches, public and government buildings, and urbanization schemes. Other privileged elites followed suit with grand new family palaces, churches, and chapels.[11] The patrons brought honor to themselves and their families by building a lasting—and practical—memorial of glory, power, and prestige. Much has been written on the grand architectural projects of such luminaries as the Sforza in Milan, the Este in Ferrara, the Montefeltro in Urbino, and the Medici in Florence.[12] Their ambitious architectural projects established their magnificence in fifteenth-century Italy and continue to impress us with their grandeur, as the patrons hoped they would. The acceptability of expensive architectural commissions led to many other instances of the wealthy building their legacy in urban centers, provincial cities, and smaller princely courts. Patrons such as Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza and their buildings might not be as famous as those listed above, but they nonetheless affirm the trend to build and offer insight into the relation between center and periphery in terms of behaviors as well as styles.

Women form a part of this group of lesser-known architectural patrons, and the question arises of whether women could achieve, or even strive for, the magnificence that accompanied building. Neither Pontano nor Alberti really discussed women patrons in their advice on architecture and magnificence. Renaissance theorists and modern historians have long assumed the male identity of the patron (as well as the ruler), and this certainly was most often the case. Gender roles limited women's income and, with it, their patronage. Elite and noble women could not earn money through military contracts and ecclesiastical offices, and social mores and legal restrictions limited their rights to inheritance as well as their ability to participate in trade and commerce. Nevertheless, women accessed money through dowries and inheritance when possible, and female regents and rulers could embark on money-making endeavors within their realm, such as forging business deals and collecting taxes and tariffs. Caterina, for instance, earned quite a bit of money from selling grain from her territories.[13] Typically some of that money would go towards the commission of artistic, musical, and literary works, splendid clothes and jewels, and. perhaps more rarely because of its high relative cost,

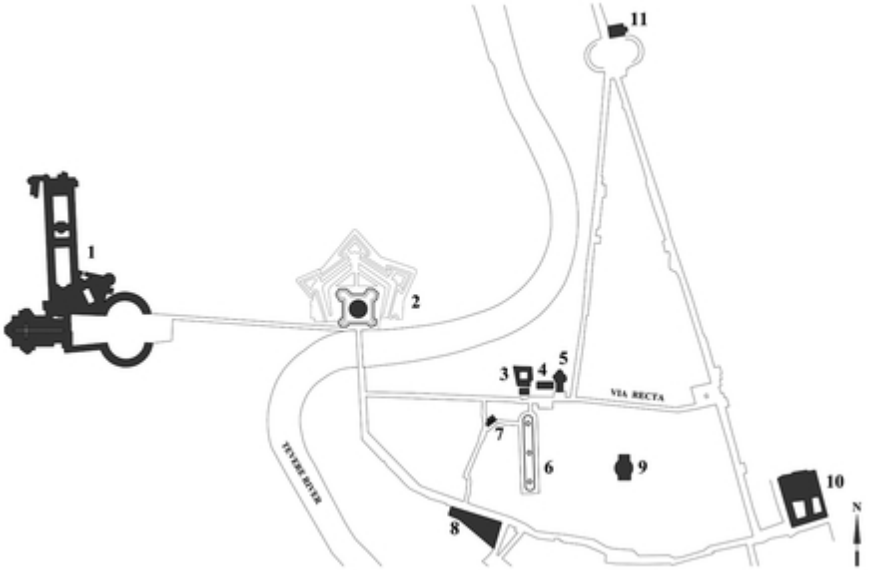
architecture. Female regents and rulers, like their male counterparts, sponsored large-scale architectural commissions, as did elite women with access to the necessary funds. Thomas Tolley noted in his research on female patronage of the visual arts that French female ruler-regents' "positions of authority led them to commission works on a grand scale, which often also served to project them as important players on the political stage."[14] If, as Pontano suggested in his treatises, patronage and the devotion to magnificence were essential to rulership, this mandate extended to both male and female rulers.

Establishing Authority: The Architectural Projects of Girolamo Riario

Soon after his betrothal to Caterina Sforza, Girolamo Riario embarked upon several building projects that would cement his rising social and political position as the papal vicar of Imola and Captain General of the papal armies. Based on the number and extent of his architectural projects, he seems to have been well aware of the humanist ideologies regarding architecture as a means of attaining magnificence. Girolamo first focused on a palace in Rome, and then turned toward his territories in the Romagna, where he concentrated on urban development and extensive construction in the center of Imola. A look to his commissions provides insight into a new prince's architectural choices for his holdings in both urban and provincial centers and during times of expansion and decline; it also provides a point of comparison for Caterina's subsequent projects within the Romagna during her regency, a period of relative instability for the family. Girolamo's projects beyond the residential were more prestigious and extensive than Caterina's, and they were part of a plan to establish his and his family's magnificence. As regent, Caterina was largely concerned with the maintenance of her states. Both built for the benefit of their family, and they could be considered as part of a team that advanced and preserved the Riario interests.

Architectural Magnificence in Sistine Rome

Girolamo's projects in Rome were part of a larger scheme to establish a strong presence for the Riario and della Rovere families in the city. His uncle Pope Sixtus IV initiated numerous building projects in Rome during his papacy, including a vast new plan of urbanization and the development of the large, low-lying area enclosed by the curve of the Tiber River across from St. Peter's.[15] He built new streets (the via Recta and the via Sistina) to alleviate traffic and clarify pilgrimage and processional routes through this area. He also transferred the city's main marketplace from the more remote Campidoglio hill to the centrally located Piazza Navona. Several of Girolamo's cousins, their careers similarly on the rise, followed the Pope's lead and undertook major architectural projects of their own.[16] Much of their patronage embellished the streets around the Piazza Navona: Girolamo's palace is just north of the piazza, next to the medieval Tor Sanguinara; nearby are Sant' Apollinare and Sant'Agostino, the titular churches of Girolamo's cousins, the Cardinals Girolamo Basso della Rovere and Raffaele Riario (Illustration 2.2). Santa Maria della Pace, built by Sixtus, lies west of the piazza. Sixtus hoped that Romans and foreigners alike would acknowledge this concentrated show of family power and patronage in an area in need of revitalization. He even changed the route of an important papal procession to pass along the streets just north of the Piazza Navona so the churches and palaces would not be missed. Girolamo and his relatives were in the special position of being new to their stations and their architectural commissions helped to establish their higher status; as Machiavelli notes, those who have recently risen in society need to spend more on public works, architecture, and display than those who have been long-established in their positions.[17]



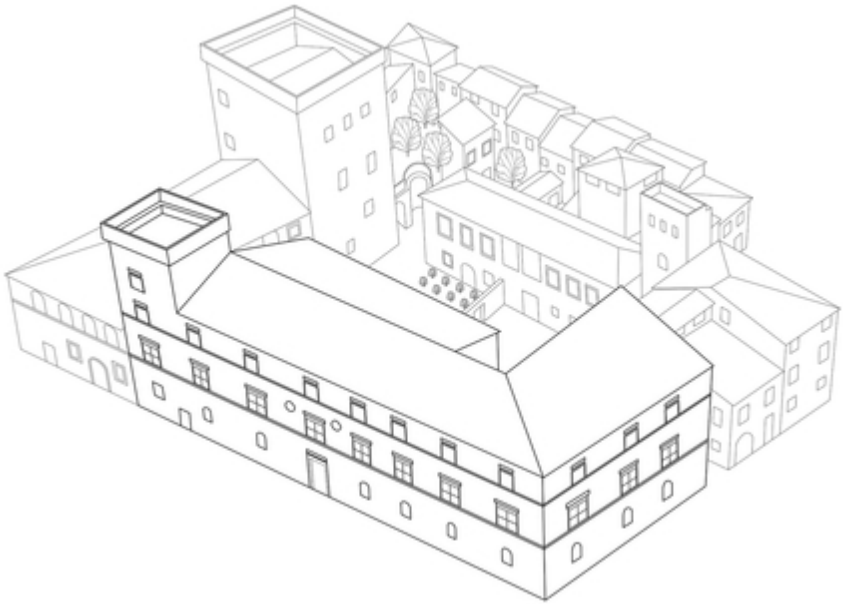
2.2 Plan of Rome: 1) St. Peter's and the Papal Palace; 2) Castel Sant'Angelo; 3) Palazzo Riario; 4) Sant'Apollinare (Girolamo Basso della Rovere's church and palace); 5) Sant'Agostino (after 1483, Raffaele Riario's church); 6) Piazza Navona; 7) Santa Maria della Pace (built by Sixtus IV); 8) Cancelleria and San Lorenzo in Damaso (Raffaele Riario's palace and church); 9) Pantheon; 10) Santi Apostoli (Pietro Riario's and, after Pietro's death, Giuliano della Rovere's church and palace); 11) Santa Maria del Popolo (built by Sixtus IV)

The Palazzo Riario signaled Girolamo's full participation in his family's scheme to make a significant mark on the urban fabric of Sistine Rome. The palace (now called the Palazzo Altemps, and partially open to the public as part of the system of national museums in Rome) is located slightly north of Sixtus's processional route but was oriented so that the main façade on the west side of the building was clearly visible to those within the procession (Illustration 2.3). Few documents survive to elucidate the details of the palace's construction in the late fifteenth century, but it seems that Girolamo began work sometime between 1474, the year he was made Captain General of the papal armies, and 1477, the year of his marriage to Caterina. It might have been completed as early as December 1477.[18] Girolamo seems to have made several purchases of land and pre-existing structures to amass a sizable property; and like his peers, he built upon the older foundations and integrated pre-existing walls and buildings into the new construction. Considerably smaller than its current embodiment as the Palazzo Altemps, Girolamo's L-shaped

palace extended from the northeast corner of the Via dei Soldati and Via di Sant'Apollinare (Illustration 2.4). The west-facing main façade ended with a medieval tower on the northern border of the complex and the southern wing ran to the current *portone.*[19] When he gave the palazzo *inter vivos* to his son Ottaviano on 23 May 1483, the property included the palace, a garden, horse stalls, towers, old buildings, and several other adjacent structures.[20] Stables and storage areas comprised the north and east sides of the complex, and the garden, filled with trees, grasses, and other plants, lay in the protected area in between.[21] No letter or contract associates a specific architect with the project, but there is evidence that Girolamo drew upon the expertise of several people. In the treatise *Divina Proportione*, the mathematician Luca Pacioli recorded that he and the artist Melozzo da Forlì discussed at least the building's architectural decorations with Girolamo, who might have sought their opinions—and others'—regarding the overall design.[22]

2.3 The Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps)

The overall appearance and ornamentation of the Palazzo Riario was in keeping with that of other mid-fifteenth century Roman palaces and some aspects of its design survive today. Subsequent owners of the complex altered and added to the fifteenth-century configuration, but archaeological and other



2.4 Reconstruction of the Palazzo Riario, Rome, *c.* 1484 (after F. Scoppola)

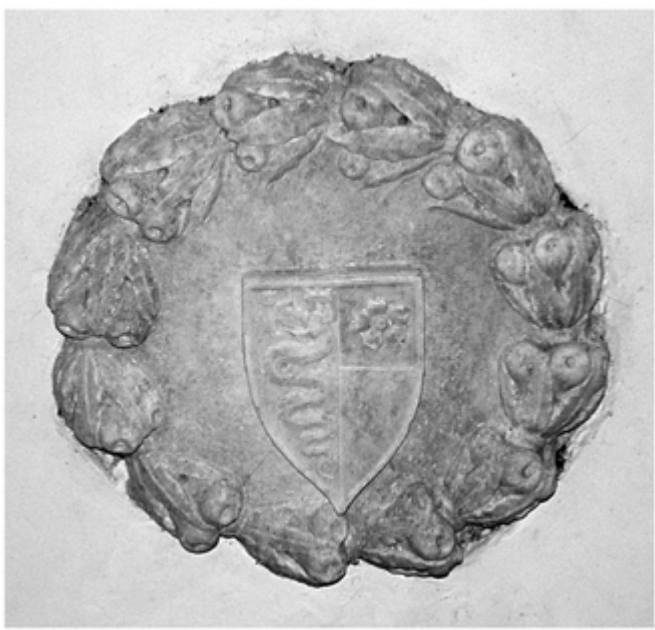
evidence suggests that its original layout and elevation was similar to that of the Palazzo Capranica (1450), the Palazzo della Rovere at Santi Apostoli (begun in 1474 by Giuliano della Rovere) and the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri (built *c.* 1478 by Domenico della Rovere).[23] Like the latter two examples, the Palazzo Riario was built of brick and faced with stucco, with string courses of travertine to delineate its three stories and a large overhanging cornice to punctuate the roofline.[24] More than likely the Riario family coat of arms marked the entrances and corners of the building. An account of the sacking of the palace after Sixtus IV's death in August 1484 describes some of its extensive decorative elements: "all of the travertine facing of the walls" was thrown to the ground, or carried off, along with the marble trim of the windows and fireplaces and the garden's "marble doorway and the lead waterworks of the fountain."[25] The account also notes that some of the windows were ironbound, presumably on the lower floors for protection. Despite the damage, aspects of the fifteenth-century windows remain. While the ground floor and basement windows are small and square and minimally ornamented with marble, those on the upper floors are more elaborate. Large cross-mullioned marble window frames similar to those seen on the Palazzo Venezia (1455–71) and the Palazzo Capranica mark the *piano nobile,* and the top-storey windows are smaller rectangles trimmed with a carved marble

cornice. The windows reflect the use and users of the spaces. The *piano nobile* contained the most important family rooms and areas for reception and so the windows' size and design had to be visibly impressive and allow for ample illumination. The lower floors accommodated a number of service areas for cooking and storage, areas usually populated by servants, so the windows could be smaller, which offered protection against thieves as well. The top floor typically housed both family and servants, but visitors did not frequent this level of the palace as much. Its windows were large to let in light and air, but they did not need to be as grand as those on the *piano nobile*.

Because of the many renovations and additions to the Riario palace after the family sold it in the early sixteenth century, it is difficult to determine the original use and layout of the rooms.[26] The main doorway, visible on Antonio Tempesta's 1593 map of Rome, was originally centered between two small round windows on the main facade that ran along the Via dei Soldati; a secondary entry may have been on the southern façade on the Via di Sant'Apollinare. (Later owners expanded this entrance to become the main doorway as seen today.)[27] In keeping with the design of the marble trim on the exterior, the doorways connecting interior rooms were carved from marble in a similar fashion, and some of the Riario-era designs apparently remain within the current structure. The entrance hall on the ground floor led to service rooms, including a kitchen, a storeroom, a dining area for lesser courtiers or servants, and possibly bedrooms. An interior stairway to the north of the main entrance (and enclosed within the current structure) linked the ground floor to the upper stories.[28] The main living areas for the family were typically on the *piano nobile*. The separate bedchambers of Caterina and Girolamo were probably on this floor, perhaps on the south wing or near the southwest corner of the palace, far from the main stairway to the north; as was the case with many Renaissance-era palaces, these more personal rooms were likely preceded by antechambers that buffered them from the public areas of the house. This allowed for a level of privacy and security but also expressed the hierarchy of spaces within the palace. The bedrooms nonetheless served as more than just sleeping quarters, and one could dine, receive courtiers, or pass the time with attendants within them; for example, Girolamo received visitors, including the Milanese ambassador who reported the event, in his chambers in October 1481 to celebrate the birth of a daughter (who died soon thereafter).[29] Rooms for the Riario children were

probably located near their mother's, or possibly on the top floor of the palace, which housed further quarters for servants and members of the household.

The decorative program of the Palazzo Riario asserted Girolamo's family identity as well as his knowledge of current trends in domestic painting. Still visible on the vaulted ceilings on the ground floor are several of the original marble decorations, specifically *capitelli* embellished with roses, a Riario symbol, and the quartered Riario-Sforza coat of arms encircled by garlands (Illustration 2.5). The Riario rose seems to have been a recurring motif in the original decoration. The 1484 report of the palace's destruction states that a number of gilded roses were pilfered.[30] Their former presence suggests that the extant marble roses and decorations might have once been gilt or painted, and the painted rose vines now visible on the wooden trussed ceilings on the *piano nobile* might be a variant of the original design. Fragments of fifteenth-century frescoes, uncovered in the recent restoration of the palace, are more elaborate.[31] One room on the upper floor of the palazzo retains a section of a frieze that ran along the top of the walls; it features vines intertwined with cornucopias and the quartered Riario-Sforza arms. A similar motif may have graced other rooms as well, and might have been part of a decorative scheme that extended over the entire wall, as frescoes often did in wealthy homes.

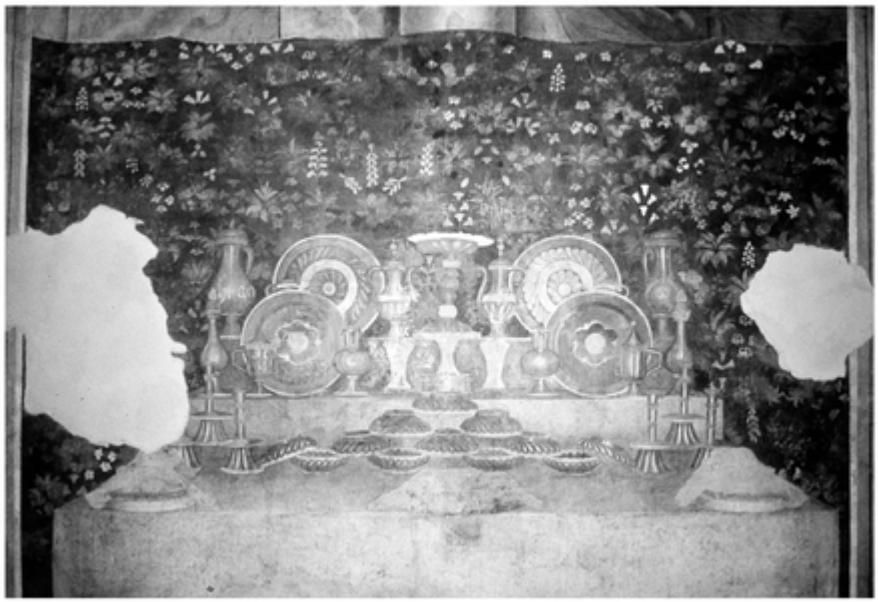


2.5 The Riario-Sforza coat of arms mounted on a ceiling within the Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome

The frescoes in what is now called the Room of the Notables *(Sala dei Notabili*), above the original entranceway, once stretched floor to ceiling (Illustration 2.6). Judging from its decorative program, this room on the *piano nobile* was one of the more public spaces within the home and probably served multiple functions, such as dinners, entertainments, and the reception of dignitaries. The frescoes feature a backdrop of Active marble-paneled walls with full-size illusionistic marble columns and an entablature upon which *putti* dance amid floral garlands. Above the entablature are Active windows that reveal a cloudy blue sky. Fragments of this painted scheme encircle the upper portion of all the walls. Traces of the same motifs are still visible on the beams in the rooms between the original main stairway and this room, and this suggests that those rooms also once featured paintings of Active architecture. The fresco on the south wall of the *sala* is largely intact between the two windows that face the street (Illustration 2.7). Here, a Active credenza covered with a linen cloth and laden with silver vessels is set off by an *a vedura* tapestry and a marble column. Melozzo da Forlì and his workshop probably painted or at least designed these frescoes. During the years he worked in Rome (1477–81), Melozzo executed similar illusionistic paintings for other members of the della Rovere family.[32]

2.6 The Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome

The frescoes in the *Sal a dei Notabili* expressed the nobility of the Riario household in several ways. On the most basic level, the metal plates on the credenza are a surrogate for the family's treasury, which was indeed large. Reports of the Riario-Sforza wedding journey note a credenza heavy with silver and gold plate at Caterina's reception in Imola and later at the nuptial feast in Rome (explored in detail in Chapter 3). Images of credenzas were beginning to appear in paintings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as sign of status



2.7 Melozzo da Forlì. Frescoes in the Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo A hemps), Rome, *c.* 1477

and abundance; a well-known example is visible in the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* in die Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, painted by Giulio Romano in 1532–34 (Illustration 3.1). The illusionistic architectural framework "behind" the credenza in the Palazzo Riario further marks Girolamo's position by demonstrating his interest in humanism. Ancient Roman domestic painting, unearthed during fifteenth-century excavations of classical sites, inspired decoration like this.[33] In addition to these rediscovered visual sources, humanists drew from classical authors like Vitruvius and others to formulate their advice for decorative elements within the home. For instance, Alberti recommended that "for the revetment to a wall there can be no project more pleasant or attractive than the representation of stone colonnading," and cited examples from Imperial Rome.[34] Contemporary Roman examples of painted Active architecture can be found in other elite settings, such as the *Sala dei Paramenti*, a reception room in the Palazzo Venezia (1455— 71) and. within the Vatican palace complex, in the Biblioteca Greca, painted by Andrea del Castagno and Davide Ghirlandaio (late 1470s-80s), and on the lower walls of the Sistine chapel (1480–82), both commissions of Girolamo's uncle Sixtus IV; a later example by Baldassare Peruzzi is in the Farnesina (1510s). But the Active architecture at the Palazzo

Riario was more than just a backdrop: it actively engaged the viewer through its carefully planned perspective. Only one person, standing at a precise viewing point, could enjoy the illusion of a fully three-dimensional space. As Randolph Starn has explained in the case of Andrea Mantegna's *Camera Picta* (1465–74), the privileged viewer then commands and orders the space both literally and, because of his or her exclusive position, figuratively.[35] In the *Sal a dei Notabili,* Girolamo was able to entertain his visitors within a setting that demonstrated his social status and intellectual pursuits, and allowed him to orient selected guests to the privileged position where they could fully enjoy the *trompe 1 'oeil* effects of the frescoes.

The Palazzo Riario, with its numerous outbuildings, verdant garden and stylish decorations, embodied the power of Girolamo Riario in Sistine Rome. When his position wavered upon the death of Sixtus IV in August 1484, the palace similarly became vulnerable and was the target of attacks.[36] It was customary for Romans to destroy the homes of papal relatives and allies when a pontiff died. The homes stood as surrogates of the inhabitants, and the ritual act of destroying and looting these properties let the people vent their anger and frustration over past policies or actions and perhaps feel a sense of agency in the laiger political realm. As mobs sacked the Palazzo Riario, they symbolically laid waste to the passing regime of the della Rovere pope and his most prominent secular nephew. Neither Girolamo nor Caterina were present at their palace to try to repel the attack. Girolamo was initially posted outside Rome with his troops, but quickly returned to town to negotiate the unfolding events; Caterina. upon the request of her husband, was holding the Castel Sant'Angelo against its attackers. The retention of the papal fortress, even though it allowed the palace's destruction proved to have been the right choice. The palace was merely private property, while the Church owned the Castel Sant'Angelo. Whoever controlled the castle, whether the pope, papal relative or appointee, or an enemy, wielded a considerable amount of power in the Church, and by default, Roman politics. Girolamo was its castellan during Sixtus's reign and Caterina's protection of it freed her husband to meet with the College of Cardinals to secure his future.

After the dust settled from the chaos that August, Girolamo learned from the new pope, Innocent VIII, that he could retain his papal vicariates in the Romagna if he left Rome. Before leaving, he ordered repairs to be done on his palace, but it seems to have stood empty for several years. The first evidence of new tenants in the building was in

the 1490s. Raffaele Riario lived there until his own palace (now called the Cancelleria) on the Campo de' Fiori was completed in 1496, and that December Caterina rented the palace to some prelates.[37] The Riario sons eventually sold the Roman house in 1511 to Cardinal Francesco Soderini, who extensively renovated it to meet his needs.[38] A monument to Girolamo's Roman rise and fall, the Riario palace in the end provided his heirs with some income even if it did not serve the family for more than a few decades. Girolamo himself was never to live or work in Rome again, and though his career as papal advisor and military captain was over, he still had jurisdiction over Imola and Forlì. The Riario moved to their Romagnole territories where Girolamo had already begun several architectural projects to establish his rule and house his court. As splendid as the Roman Palazzo Riario once was, the projects Girolaino initiated in Imola had a stronger impact upon the local urban fabric.

A Rome Away From Rome in the Romagna

Girolamo reshaped Imola through an extensive program of urbanization that articulated Renaissance values of space and design and classicizing theories on urban planning. His attention focused on the two centers of town: the cathedral complex and the main piazza, with its government buildings, new residences for the prince and his court, and public market. The reorganized city, located on the plains extending from the Po river (the *pianura padcmd),* was much like the ideal "city on a plain" designed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, the great fifteenth-century Sienese artist, architect, and theorist.[39] His recommendations for a city located 011 flatlands focused on the use of the town's most prominent spaces and buildings. Government and commercial buildings should surround the central piazza and be designed with porticoes and loggias that would protect citizens from weather. The outdoor public market, a major commercial endeavor, would ideally take place there, where government officials could closely monitor it. The cathedral complex and the ruler's palace, both sufficiently tall to signify their importance, should be near the main piazza. Furthermore, the palace of the ruler should also have an exterior loggia or portico to house commercial activities, an easy way for the ruler to demonstrate regularly his benevolence through sheltering the public. The fact that the new works at Imola so closely

adhered to this prescription suggests that Girolamo had first- or second-hand knowledge of Francesco di Giorgio's theories, which were in circulation among rulers in the late fifteenth century. Girolamo was not alone in these kinds of endeavors. His plans were similar to the modernizing projects of his contemporaries, such as Sixtus IV's reurbanization of Rome (1470–84). Pius II's projects in Pienza (1459–64), Lodovico Sforza's plans in Vigevano (1490s), and Ercole d'Este's expansion of Ferrara (1492–1504). All of these rulers seem to have well understood Alberti's and Filarete's advice for princely building and Pontano's suggestions on how to achieve magnificence through beneficent commissions.[40] These theorists drew many of their ideas from classical prototypes, whether remnants of actual ancient architecture or textual descriptions and theories of it. The patrons, in adopting humanist ideology and practices, cultivated the pretension that they were heirs of the ancient Roman Emperors.

Girolamo's projects distinguished Imola as a Riario possession and established him as a magnificent patron and ruler. The investments he made would have long-term value for his family since his heirs held the legal title to rule it continuously as papal vicars.[41] Before Girolamo's interventions, Imola was a small, provincial town in need of transformation in order to function as a princely court (Illustration 2.8). Gianluigi Rossi, who accompanied Caterina on her wedding journey, reported to

2.8 Leonardo da Vinci, *Plan of the city of Imola from the Windsor Codex, c.* 1501

the court of Milan that the town "is not great and the houses are bad."[42] Girolamo probably agreed with this assessment when he first saw the city in the summer of 1481. He immediately began to purchase land in the center of town to enable his changes; his acquisitions continued through April 1484. He hired several master builders: the Imolesi Giovanni Ludovico Menghi and Giovanni da Brensa and the Florentine Giorgio Marchesi, who seems to have overseen all the projects, and his sons Antonio and Francesco (called Cecco). The Marchesi were well-traveled and experienced architects who brought Florentine-inspired architecture to other papal vicariates in the region: Giorgio worked for the Ordelaffi rulers in Forlì in the 1470s, and Antonio for Costanzo Sforza in Pesaro in the 1480s. When he and his family departed the Romanga in fall 1481, Girolamo wrote to the Duke of Milan that one hundred men were at work on this "palazzo principiate."[43] Judging from the choice of masters and the architecture itself, he wanted to uphold local traditions while transforming Imola with the classically inspired, humanist architecture of Florence, a style through which princes could proclaim their political and intellectual prowess in the late fifteenth century .[44]

The imposing palace Girolamo built on Imola's main piazza expressed his lordship over the civic space and its activities. The

Palazzo Riario (now called the Palazzo Sersanti) stands opposite from the local government's Palazzo Comunale and once served as its counterpoint in overseeing and regulating the events that took place within the shared piazza (Illustration 2.9). The general design of the palace's facade remains the same today as it was in the fifteenth century. Much like the arcade that graces the facade of the Palazzo Comunale, a tall portico with fourteen arches runs the length of the Palazzo Riario and provides a graceful covered walkway for the public and a protected—and easily observed—area for merchants on market days. The two floors above the portico are successively shorter, and decorative brickwork delineates each. The row of arched windows on the *piano nobile* echoes the arcade below; both are embellished with terra-cotta trim in floral and geometric designs. A deep cornice hangs above the top floor, which has small round windows. As was typical of a number of contemporary palaces, the areas on the ground floor were to be rented as shops, and the upper floors were reserved for the family and court. Behind the palace's facade was an interior courtyard, and a walled garden lay to the southwest of the complex; its marble entranceway still survives. With its loggia, brick construction and terra-cotta decoration the Palazzo Riario resembles other palaces in the region, such as the Palazzo del Podesta in Bologna, but it also exhibits some distinctly Florentine influence, especially in the modular, Brunelleschian proportions of the arcade. Although it had been planned as a residence for the family, the palace may never have served as such. After their permanent move to the Romagna in 1484, the Riario chose to reside mainly in Forlì and when in Imola, they stayed in the fortified *rocca* on the edge of town (discussed below). This might have been because their political situation necessitated more protection, but it is also possible that Girolamo did not have the funds after the death of Sixtus IV to complete the palace to his personal standards.[45] In his chronicle of local history, written in the late fifteenth century, Jacopo Foresti noted that in 1484, the Palazzo Riario was "finished only in some parts."[46] Whether he referred to the structure or its embellishment is unclear, but the building did not remain empty. It housed government offices and shops; for instance, Caterina rented out space on the ground floor to an apothecary in 1490.[47] Whether the Riario lived there or not the classicizing palace on Imola's main piazza provided a solid foundation for further projects within the city.

2.9 Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Sersanti), Imola, 1470s-80s

Imola, small, provincial, and in need of an update, provided an ideal environment in which Girolamo could reconstruct the main aspects of a Roman city and express his interest in humanist architectural theory. He had temporarily brought the pomp of Rome to the provinces during triumphal entries and visits (discussed in Chapter 1), and now he permanently altered the urban fabric to reflect Imola's contemporary and historical ties to Rome. His palace under construction, Girolamo employed ancient Roman standards to expand and regularize the piazza on which it stood.[48] Just off the Via Emilia, this piazza was the civic and commercial center of Imola. Before Girolamo's interventions, it had an irregular plan caused by medieval buildings that jutted into the space. Construction under the masters Giovanni da Brensa and Cecco Marchesi began in spring 1483 when the church of San Lorenzo and other buildings were torn down to allow the size of the piazza to double. The resulting rectangular space took on the proportions 2:3, which the ancient Roman architectural theorist Vitruvius prescribed for Italian forums.[49] Girolamo ordered this space to be paved with bricks arranged in antique Roman *opus spicatum*; in the center he placed a public well and a podium for proclamations.[50] The city's market already took place on this piazza,

and Girolamo planned to build a smaller covered market, reserved for herb, fruit, and vegetable dealers, on an adjacent piazza to alleviate congestion, but this smaller market was never completed.[51] To facilitate access to the piazza and emphasize the ancient Roman city plan with its *cardo* and *decumanus* as the central thoroughfares, Girolamo rerouted and paved the city's main streets with brick.[52] Girolamo's attention to the central piazza, its market, and the streets that surround it echoes Sixtus IV's projects to move the marketplace and clarify the streets of Rome. Just as his uncle updated Rome, Girolamo worked to transform Imola into a Renaissance city with public spaces designed to honor the Roman history of Imola, the ancient *Forum Cornehi.*

Girolamo further expressed his princely magnificence by building additional residences for his court near Imola's central piazza. Northwest along the Via Emilia, he erected "El Cappello," a palace to serve as a residence for courtiers and visiting dignitaries. The palace had tall porticoes along the exterior on two sides that provided rental areas for shops, and an interior loggia on the *piano nobile* opened onto a courtyard. Off the courtyard on the ground floor were large stalls for the visitors' horses.[53] Just east of "El Cappello" Girolamo built a small palace with a large garden nearby.[54] These new buildings in Imola declared Girolamo's commitment to the beautification of the city, a sign of his beneficence that would buttress his political position as well. He also encouraged local nobles to build new houses; in response, the Calderini and Machirelli families constructed Florentine-style palaces near the center of town during the Riario vicariate.[55] With these palaces, local nobles exhibited their own knowledge of humanist trends in architecture while also expressing their loyalty to their ruler by building palaces in a style Girolamo advocated.

Imola's cathedral complex, a short distance from the city's main piazza, was fundamental to Girolamo's overall plan of urban renewal.[56] This was hardly a surprise, given the close connections between piety, power, and civic space, especially for a papal nephew and Christian ruler. In fact, his initial interest in the church predated his plans for the central piazza. Soon after receiving jurisdiction over the city. Girolamo requested indulgences for the cathedral and several other local religious institutions, the money earmarked for renovations. Sixtus IV granted them in 1477 and 1479, and later expanded them to provide for the increasing costs of the works underway.[57] Girolamo demonstrated his own largesse—a key component to magnificence—when he forgave the cathedral's fiscal

obligations to him for several years beginning in 1474. He set an example of charity for others to follow, and the money the church saved by this debt relief was to pay particularly for structural work on the walls and the excavation of ditches within the complex.[58] Girolamo facilitated the financing, and he seems to have overseen the construction, which was led by some of the same masters that had worked on some of his civic projects, such as Gian Lodovico Menghi. They expanded and redesigned the Piazza del Duomo (1480s) to distinguish its importance within the dense urban fabric and renewed the roofs of the buildings, the main facade, and the pavement of the courtyard in front of the cathedral. Girolamo did not hesitate to call for changes in plans, for instance in the projections of the bell tower and the piazza surrounding the complex, if he did not think the plans agreed with his larger goals for the city.[59] The late-fifteenth-century plan of the cathedral complex and its surrounding piazza remains largely intact, even if eighteenth- and nineteenth-century renovations destroyed much of the Renaissance-era interior decorations and facade (discussed in Chapter 4 as part of Girolamo's religious patronage). After this massive renovation, the Cathedral of Imola was thoroughly updated and its surrounding piazza established the area as the religious counterpoint to the main civic piazza a few steps away.

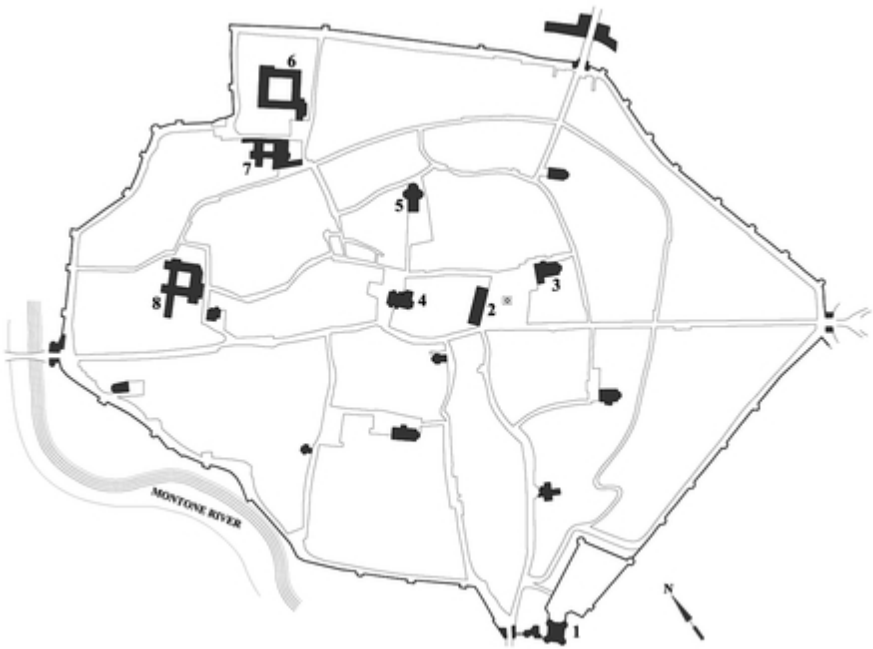
2.10 The Rocca Sforzesco, Imola

If Girolamo's involvement in the beautification of the city buttressed his position as benevolent ruler, he still recognized the need to strengthen his defenses at the rocca of Imola and several outlying fortresses (Illustration 2.10). His relationship with the restive populations of his territories confirmed warnings from Alberti, who wrote in Book Five of *On Architecture*, "for a tyrant, his own people may be just as hostile as outsiders, and he must therefore fortify his city against foreigner and fellow citizen alike."[60] To protect the city and its surrounding lands from foreigners. Girolaino commissioned Gian Lodovico Menghi to design a new northeast gate into Imola, the Porta del Piolo, as well as a new rocca at Piancaldoli, and to add to his fortresses in the Imolese territories of Bagnara, Dozza, Riolo, and Tossignano.[61] To protect his family from fellow citizens, he updated the rocca in Imola, along the western edge of town (now called the Rocca Sforzesca). Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the previous vicar, had refortified it in 1471, but apparently it needed more attention.[62] Girolamo commissioned Menghi and the Marchesi father and sons to augment the fortifications and build a palace inside the walls (1480–85). Similar in design to the Rocca Costanza at Pesaro that the Marchesi also built, the updated fortress (which now houses the Civic Museum of Imola and hosts cultural events) featured circular towers at its angles and other innovations in defensive architecture. To ensure his men-of-arms knew just whom they served when inside the rocca, Girolamo decorated the walls with the arms and other devices of the Riario, the Sforza, and Pope Sixtus IV; fragments of these frescoes are still visible on the walls and ceiling of the artillery passages in the south tower (Illustration 2.11).

2.11 Frescoes with the Riario–Sforza coat of arms within the south tower of the Rocca Sforzesco, Imola

The two-storey residence, called the Paradiso, was on the west side of the fortress complex and had a high portico on the ground floor. It shared several visual details with Girolamo's other residential projects: the Paradiso and the Palazzo Riario in Imola display the same cornice, and the *capitelli* of the Paradiso are the same design as those painted in the *Sala dei Notabili* in the Roman Palazzo Riario.[63] With the addition of the new residence, the rocca became comparable in plan and function to one of Caterina's childhood homes, namely the Castello di Porta Giovio (now called the Castello Sforzesco) in Milan, where Galeazzo Maria Sforza transferred his court in 1467.[64] Although the Riario structure was smaller than the Milanese example, both contained an urban residence for the prince within a fortress that was clearly delineated from the rest of the city. Girolamo may have been in the provinces, but his architectural models hailed from Italy's most elite cities and courts. Other palaces were available for housing in both the Sforza and Riario cases, but these configurations were more secure; their locations also testify to the separate nature of the court from the daily life of the city. All of these defenses provided the practical protection from both foreign and local enemies that

Girolamo needed as prince.



2.12 Plan of Forlì: 1) Rocca di Ravaldino; 2) Palazzo Pubblico; 3) San Mercuriale; 4) The Cathedral (Santa Croce); 5) San Francesco; 6) Santa Chiara; 7) San Girolamo (now SanBiagio); 8) Santa Maria della Ripa

Despite the fact he chose Forlì as his family's primary residence after leaving Rome, Girolamo did not alter its urban fabric as much as that of Imola (Illustration 2.12). The city was larger and more prosperous than Imola, and the previous rulers, the Ordelaffi. had recently invested in its urbanization and beautification. If Renaissance princes believed architecture added to their magnificence and therefore enhanced their power, one might think that Girolamo would have commissioned more extensive building projects in the city to increase his authority and counteract the rebellions against him. He may have harbored fantasies about refashioning Forlì as a miniature "new Rome" like Imola, but there is no record of them. Whatever grand architectural plans he might have had could never come to fruition, especially once his income deteriorated after Sixtus IV's death in 1484.

2.13 Giuseppe Missirini, *The Palazzo Pubblico of Forlì viewed from the bell tower of San Mercuriale,* 1798

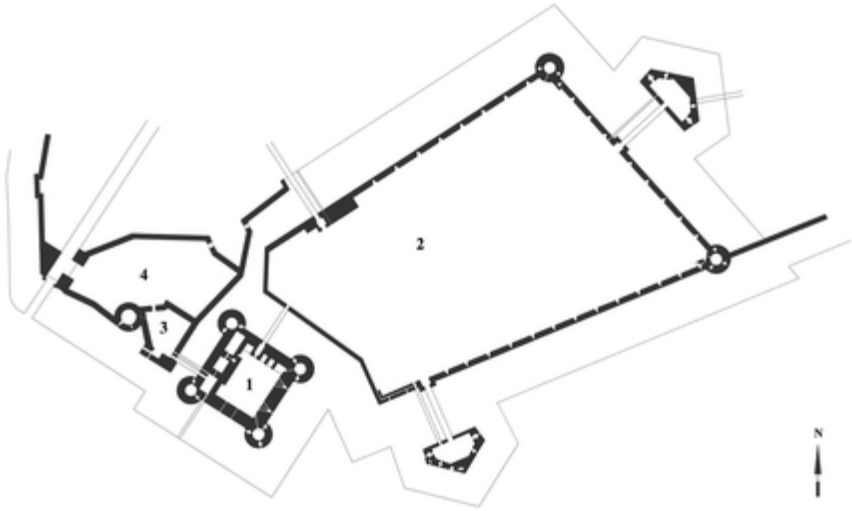
In Forlì, the Riario court resided in an imposing palace on the town's central piazza and, when they needed more protection, in the Rocca di Ravaldino.[65] Built in the mid-fourteenth century and renovated in the fifteenth, the palace was similar in form and function to the Palazzo Riario in Imola. The palace was later rebuilt as the Palazzo Pubblico (now Palazzo Comunale; Illustration 2.13).[66] The remarks of fifteen-century chroniclers provide some details of its appearance: the three-storey palace had an exterior stairway, bifore windows along the *piano nobile,* and defensive merlins on the roof; it contained an interior courtyard with a loggia that surrounded a garden, and stalls for horses. The current façade dates to the early nineteenth century, but when the Riario inhabited the building, it had just been updated in 1459 with a new portico, commissioned by Cecco and Pino Ordelaffi. The Ordelaffi had also renovated several of the interior rooms, and Girolamo does not seem to have made many adjustments. He had at least two reception rooms on the *piano nobile.* Girolamo received the local governing bodies, the Anziani and the Quaranti, in the large *camera verde,* so-called because it was painted with green-toned frescoes.[67] At least one meeting to discuss tax issues took place there in December 1485.[68] He ate and welcomed courtiers

and dignitaries in an antechamber to his bedroom, the "Room of the Nymphs" (*camera de li niffe),* which overlooked the main piazza and where he was later murdered. The room was probably named after a classically inspired decorative program, no longer extant, with scenes of the loves of the gods, a humanist theme popular among the nobility.[69] Separate living quarters for Caterina were also on the *piano nobile,* and rooms for her children were probably nearby.[70] According to an account of Girolamo's murder, Caterina, once she learned of the attack on her husband, locked herself and her children within her apartments. The fact that she needed to be informed of the murder implied that her quarters were some distance from the Room of the Nymphs. Other rooms for cooking and storage and servants' quarters would have been spread between the basement, the *piano terreno,* and the third floor.

2.14 The Rocca cli Ravaldino, Forlì

Girolamo paid more attention to military architecture in Forlì, a choice that reveals his awareness of the need for his family's protection within the city. Rebellions against the Riario and in favor of the Ordelaffi, the previous rulers, began soon after Girolamo took over Forlì's vicariate. The Rocca di Ravaldino, the city's main fortress

on the southwest edge of town, served as the family 's refuge when the centrally-located palace could not (Illustration 2.14). The architect Giorgio Marchesi had only just built the fortress in 1472 at the request of Pino Ordelaffi. Girolamo, who had hired Giorgio for his projects at Imola, called him back to Forlì to renovate the Rocca to strengthen its defenses. If Girolamo decided the recently refurbished palace did not need many updates, he thought the virtually new Rocca did. Giorgio added to the *cittadella,* a large area to accommodate troops and their military drills enclosed by a wall that extended northeast from the rocca (1481–83; Illustration 2.15).[71] Because the same architect had worked on the fortress at Imola, the Ravaldino shared its design and appearance: both were square with circular towers at the comers, as was common in the Romagna during this period. Girolamo updated the other defenses in Forlì. In the early 1480s he completed the fortifications on the Rochetta at the Porta Schiavona, on the west side of town.[72] These urban projects were practical and necessary for protection from forces within and without, but neither the metaphorical nor the literal strength of his architecture offered Girolamo any succor when the men plotting against him succeeded in murdering him in April 1488. One cannot help wondering if the limited scope of Girolamo's architectural commissions in Forlì affected public opinion of him. The few large-scale architectural projects he undertook there might not have sufficiently proven his magnificence and beneficence to his subjects and instead called attention to his economic failings. In addition, he focused on defensive projects in Forlì, a choice that suggested to the local nobles that he knew his political position was in jeopardy.



2.15 Plan of the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forli (after L. Marinelli): 1) Rocca Sforzesca; 2) Cittadella; 3) Paradiso palace; 4) Walled Garden

In several ways, Girolamo's fate corresponds to the fortune of his architectural projects. At the height of his power, he invested heavily in residential, religious, and civic architecture, all of which demonstrated his status. When his uncle and benefactor Sixtus IV died, Girolamo's political situation plummeted: his Roman palace was sacked and he was forced to transfer his court to the Romagna. Without the financial and political support that he had previously enjoyed, his vicariates became increasingly unstable. He could not complete the projects he had begun and certainly could not take on any more. Conspirators rallied against him repeatedly and finally murdered him, and mobs destroyed his Forlivese palace in the aftermath. The style and scope of his projects and the destruction of his personal residences, all symbolic of his political and bodily presence, demonstrate the metaphorical nature of buildings in the Renaissance and the links between political power, economics, and architecture. Intellectuals wrote of architecture as a lasting monument to personal glory and magnificence; when rebels sacked Girolamo's palaces, they challenged his position and so damaged his potential for lasting fame. The link between the ruler and his residence goes even further: in April 1488. Girolamo's assassins did not just murder him, they wrested him from his locus of power when they threw his mortally wounded body out of a window of his palace, an ignominious gesture that expressed their disdain for his vicariate.[73] Caterina noted

all of this, and must have understood the significance of the ruler's relationship to architecture. In her negotiations for power after Girolamo's murder, she cunningly accessed and would not forfeit the family fortress of the Rocca di Ravaldino, which ensured her regency; years later, again under attack, she would not give up the fortress and left only when arrested and forcibly removed.

Maintaining Authority: The Architectural Projects of Caterina Sforza

During her regency of the Riario territories, Caterina Sforza commissioned architectural projects essential to the maintenance of her social and political position. Although at the time women in general did not often have the opportunity and means to build, the fact that female rulers like Caterina sponsored large-scale architectural commissions should not be too much of a surprise. Building was a privilege, really a duty, of rulership. It was essential to the cultivation of virtues such as beneficence and magnificence. If building was perceived as a masculine activity, related to individual fame and family legacy and predicated on financial fortune, women could nonetheless pursue their own architectural projects—and fame—if they possessed the financial means to do so. As regent, Caterina became the financial steward of her family and could count on a certain amount of income from taxes and tariffs generated by her territories. Even so, she had to be pragmatic in her architectural commissions. She did not have the independent income her husband once enjoyed through papal favors and military commissions. Nor could she frivolously raise taxes to pay for a costly project for fear of rebellion, something Machiavelli would later warn against.[74] She needed to find a balance between expenses for personal splendor and civic purposes. Girolamo Riario had established the family's princely presence in Rome, Imola, and, to a lesser extent, Forlì, through grand architecture. Caterina now needed to resolve the tense political situation surrounding Girolamo's murder, protect her family, prevent or at least contain new conspiracies, and convince her subjects of the benefits of a continuing Riario vicariate. She knew that any political dissent could escalate into her downfall. Since architecture was such

an expensive and public endeavor, she sponsored residential updates and improvements rather than vast new projects of urbanization, and put money into elevating the living conditions and strengthening the defenses within her territories. Caterina's ability to engage in architectural building and renovation was inseparable from her political and related economic fortunes. Through her architectural commissions, she tried to build a reputation for beneficence while maintaining a lifestyle appropriate to her situation.

Residential Projects of "Comfort, Elegance, and Price"

Caterina chose to reside in Forlì at the Rocca di Ravaldino, the site of her triumphal orchestration to power in April 1488. Her home thus became synonymous with her success. She clearly needed the protection the fortress provided, and the city, where most of the conspiracies against the Riario had hatched, needed more oversight; she traveled only occasionally to the less seditious Imola. She could no longer live in the family's palace in the center of town for practical and symbolic reasons. The palace, where the Riario court had previously resided, had been ransacked in the riots after Girolamo's death and was no longer habitable; furthermore, it was tainted as the site of his brutal and humiliating murder. In contrast, the Ravaldino had not suffered much damage during the rebellion: in April 1488 an ambassador wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici that "to me it seems that this Rocca is one of the most beautiful and strongest fortresses that I have ever seen and I hear that it is fortified to last ten years."[75] As was the case for Imola's rocca, the family's apartments at the Rocca di Ravaldino were within a palace termed the Paradiso, although in Forlì this structure was not contained within the fortress proper, but was adjacent to it and connected by a porticoed walkway (Illustration 2.15).[76] Although the palace was distinct from the more heavily fortified areas of the fortress, it was nevertheless still protected and considered part of the rocca complex. A visitor mentioned that the family's living areas were "in the rocca," but "separate from the *cassero* (the walkway just inside the upper walls) and the main tower."[77] Over the course of her regency, Caterina updated this palace. It is now completely destroyed, as are the garden, farm, and hunting park that Caterina built nearby; limited evidence survives to reveal details of

their construction, appearance, and configuration. In his biography of Caterina, written a half a century after her death. Fabio Oliva asserted that she built the Paradiso from the ground up, although in his quest to build her legend he may have exaggerated her contribution to the structure or conflated the work she undertook on the surrounding landscape with that of the palace.[78] Caterina and her family were living in the structure soon after she took power, which suggests that any work she completed on it was to improve or augment an already-existing building.[79]

In the early years of her regency, Caterina constructed an enclosed garden on the southeast side of her residence at the Rocca di Ravaldino and so engaged in the practices of her elite peers. In his treatise *On Architecture*, Alberti recommended that noble residences should contain "gardens full of delightful plants, and a garden portico, where you can enjoy both sun and shade."[80] Many princely residences included a garden: the Castelvecchio in Ferrara, the new Medici palace on the Via Larga in Florence, the ducal palace of Urbino, and the Castello Ducale in Mantua, where Isabella d'Este had a secret garden.[81] These gardens provided a semi-private space filled with light, fresh air, and beautiful plants, all of which could filter inside the residence via windows and doorways that opened onto the exterior. Understandably gardens around a residence had great appeal, and were used as dining areas in warm weather. There is no detailed record of the appearance of Caterina's garden at Forlì. but it was probably similar to these other elite examples, with their variety of plants, from vegetables, flowers, and medicinal herbs. Caterina held a lifelong interest in the uses of medicinal herbs for health and beauty remedies, and her garden may have been like other "gardens of simples," with their carefully ordered geometric layouts.[82] The embellishments within her garden included at least benches to sit upon and possibly sculpture and other marble or stone items such as fountains and entranceways, all of which also appeared in the garden of the Palazzo Riario in Rome.

Caterina's walled garden, an extension of her palace, was an area into which she invited select guests. In fact, much of the information regarding the garden derives from an account of how she employed it to manipulate a change in the Rocca di Ravaldino's governance. According to the chronicler Bernardi, in late August of 1490, Caterina invited the castellan of the rocca, Tommaso Feo, into her garden under the pretense of showing him the area's new improvements.[83] Tommaso had been indispensable to Caterina's regency: he was the

castellan who had not surrendered the fortress to the rebels after Girolamo's death and had helped her gain control of Forlì. She now wanted to install his brother. Giacomo, her lover, in the position, but because of Tommaso's past loyalty, she could not simply dismiss him. She instead played on her vulnerability as a woman and the rule that castellans could not leave their jurisdiction. Tommaso, perhaps assured by his family's strong ties to the Riario, walked over the small bridge that connected the fortress with the Paradiso and accompanied Caterina into the garden. There, they sat under a fig tree and ate its fruit. They then proceeded to inspect the new walls and Caterina encouraged him to view the work she had completed inside her residence. When he entered the house, which was outside the confines of the fortress proper, soldiers arrested him since he had technically abandoned his post. Bernardi's version of the events is tinged with notions of treacherous female sexuality that echo the legend of the fall of Adam and Eve: Caterina tempted the castellan into an enclosed and exclusive space, offered him fruit, and when he entered a forbidden area, punished him. The garden setting is significant. Under the circumstances, it became a female space, not just because it was semi-private, elite, and cultivated by a woman, but also because of the traditional symbolism of an enclosed garden: it is one of several signs of the Virgin Man 's intact purity. The fact that the fruit was figs, long associated with female genitalia, only strengthens the sexual undertones of the event. Tommaso Feo violated the space and ate the symbolic fruit, but only upon Caterina's invitation. If Bernardi implied that she acted as a temptress to ensnare her victim. Caterina, in a letter justifying the change in personnel, asserted her imiocent and delicate femininity. She wrote to the Duke of Ferrara that she had to dismiss the castellan because of his "indecent conduct" *(indecenti portamenU)* and so suggested that Tommaso was responsible for any sexual treachery.[84] In any case, the discussion over the quality of the new construction around her residence helped Caterina accomplish her goal of installing Giacomo Feo as castellan of the Ravaldino.

In addition to the walled garden, Caterina built a larger park that extended eastward from the southern border of the rocca complex. "Caterina desired to provide some refinements, that is make a farm with a park, or garden, like they have in Ferrara and in many other places, in which she could keep wild animals of every type and plant fruit-bearing trees," reported Bernardi. "For this, she started to make there a nice building in which she put many Trentine cows and other animals.... That done, she acquired a certain number of turns of

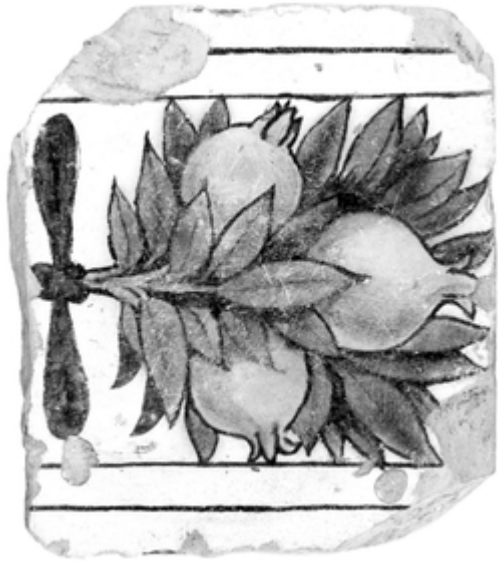
worked land that began at the moat and proceeded along the road to Busecchio ... [and] the road to the Ronco ... for about 900 *varghe*,..."[85] The park contained two distinct areas, each surrounded by walls. The farm, close to the fortress and its moat, and perhaps even buttressing the walled garden, had a barn that offered protection to the domestic animals and allowed the fortress to be self-sufficient with an independent food supply. The larger area that stretched eastward seems to have bordered the rocca's *cittadella.* It was probably stocked with animals more "wild" than cows for hunting and other excursions. Fabio Oliva wrote that two miles of walls encircled the hunting park, which contained various animals for the hunt, as well as exotic plants, and "a small Palazzo, all painted green" *(un piccolo Palazzo, dipinto tutto a verde),* probably a building where she and her entourage could stop for refreshment during an excursion.[86] Parks such as Caterina's were often constructed to appear as if they were untamed nature, and hers may also have been purposefully "disordered" in its design.[87]

In building gardens and parks, and populating them with animals and vegetation, Caterina and her contemporaries were exercising their privilege of controlling the land and making it available for their personal pleasure. Ercole d'Este, whom Bernardi mentioned as a model for Caterina's plans at Forlì, built his farm and expansive hunting park north of Ferrara. His attention to the park bears witness to just how important possessing the land was to rulers: it was one of the first projects he took on as Duke in the early 1470s and work continued on it for almost two decades. Like Caterina's park, Ercole's was divided into two distinct sections: closest to the city was an area that contained the Villa Belfiore, gardens and orchards; the larger area, extending north for several miles, was stocked with animals for hunting.[88] Both Ercole and Caterina seem to have followed the advice of humanists, who, inspired by classical predecessors such as Pliny the Elder, encouraged the construction of gardens. Alberti offered suggestions for the proper siting of a villa garden in his *On Architecture*, and Francesco di Giorgio took the discussion further by providing designs for a hunting park in his treatise on architecture.[89] Owners often decorated these exterior spaces with coats of arms or personal devices, like those in interior rooms, to proclaim their ownership. For instance, Alberti recommended fashioning coats of arms out of plants, although stone and marble sculpture was a popular means of this as well.[90] Though we can only imagine the decorative devices found in her garden, it is likely that Caterina adhered to the models set forth in theory and practice to stake her domain.

Nevertheless, ever pragmatic, Caterina destroyed the hunting park to clear the area for battle when she faced Cesare Borgia's attack in late 1499.[91] By then, the park must have been sufficiently established, with tall trees and high walls, to require razing it to the ground.

In addition to the large-scale architectural projects that she completed adjacent to the Rocca di Ravaldino, Caterina updated her family's living quarters within the Paradiso a few years into her regency. Fabio Oliva described the building and its embellishment, which he presumably could have seen himself when he was writing in the mid-sixteenth century, as "beautiful and made in the style of modem architecture, and ornamented with illustrious pictures ... and intarsia of the [Riario] roses and [Sforza] *biscione*. Each [style and ornament], without a doubt, not only balances, but advances all the other aspects of comfort, elegance, and price."[92] Soon after taking power she probably ordered minor changes to the palace to accommodate the immediate needs of her court, but there is evidence that she made extensive improvements in 1496 when she was more established in her position. Bernardi noted that new work was underway in the palace that year, and although he did not give any details, the fact that he mentioned it in

2.16 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

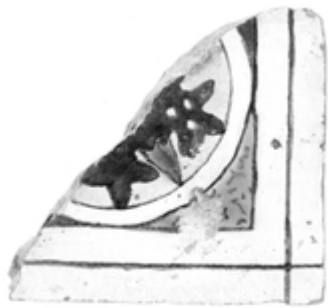


2.17 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

his chronicle suggests that it was of some significance. Caterina was more secure politically and financially at this time; she had weathered the French invasion of 1494–95 and had begun to make money by selling her territories' grain to Florence.[93] Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici negotiated the grain sales during his visits to Forlì, and he and his brother Lorenzo acted as Caterina's agents in procuring Florentine goods in return, The two facilitated, and perhaps inspired, at least one aspect of Caterina's renovations in the summer of 1496.[94]

2.18 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

2.19 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496



2.20 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

Through the Medici brothers, Caterina ordered a set of colorful tiles from the della Robbia work-shop in Florence for the pavement of the chapel and another unspecified room within the Paradiso and so visually linked her provincial court with the nearby artistic center. In the early twentieth century, archaeologists excavated fragments of these tiles from underneath the foundations of the main tower and from the moat surrounding the rocca; they are currently housed in Forlì's Museo delle Ceramiche (Illustrations 2.16-2.22).[95] The tiles display several motifs, suchas cornucopias, garlands of fruits and pine cones, and abstract floral and geometric designs. The same designs appear in other della Robbia pavements of the late fifteenth century, such as those in the Chapel of the Beato Bartolo in San Agostino, San Gimignano and in the chapel inside the palace of Alberto III Pio in Carpi, a particularly apt comparison because it too was a private chapel within a palace of a provincial ruler.[96] The diversity of the motifs of Caterina's tiles make it difficult to recreate exactly how they all fit together. The tiles with cornucopias, a classicizing motif popular

in contemporary relief sculpture, were probably placed along the borders of the room, as were the garlands of fruit and pine cones; all of these examples feature white borders with black lines to further set off the main design. Other examples, such as the hexagonal white tile with a blue flower in the center and green and purple leaves decorating the edges or the blue, green, and yellow tile of geometric designs that surround small white flowers, were likely laid to create a vast, carpet-like *(a favus)* effect, which then could have been bordered with the garlands or cornucopias.[97] The pavement in Carpi features the same hexagonal blue and white flowered tiles set in this fashion; here they surround a circular coat of arms at the center of the floor (Illustration 3.10). Caterina's chapel pavement might have been similarly configured.

2.21 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

2.22 The della Robbia workshop, maiolica floor tile from the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì, *c.* 1496

If Caterina allowed some leeway for the design in her request, which survives in a copybook of correspondence between her and the

Medici brothers' household, she had a specific prototype in mind.[98] Above all. she "wants to make a beautiful pavement" and she asked that the brothers send her "many pieces of [the shop's] work that make a square in which there are diverse colors sectioned according to what is good." However, the tiles were to resemble "the work of Luca della Robbia as in the ground floor room of our own Lorenzo" in the Medici Casa Vecchia in Florence, where the brothers lived. Giovanni had probably described this pavement to her since she certainly had not yet seen it in person, and he may have even encouraged her to undertake the renovation in Forlì. The Medici floor does not survive, and no other records for it have surfaced. It may have been in the room on the ground floor of the Casa Vecchia referred to in inventories as the *camera bella.*[99] Documents do show that Luca della Robbia produced a tile pavement in the mid-1450s for Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's *studiolo* on the *piano nobile* of the new Medici palace next door. It too is now lost, but scholars believe that it resembled the pavement in the Chapel of the Company of San Lorenzo in the Collegiata di Sant'Andrea in Empoli (1475; Illustration 2.23).[100] The newly discovered documentation of Caterina's request for tiles provides a link among all of these examples: her tiles were modeled after those in the Casa Vecchia and they are quite like those in Empoli. The decoration of the two Medici palaces, according to Doris Carl, was similar during this period, and so this new evidence not only sheds light on details of the Casa Vecchia, but it also strengthens the hypothesis that Piero di Cosimo's pavement was akin to the one in Empoli.[101] The examination of surviving works from the provinces, like Empoli and now Forlì, constructed from materials imported from artistic centers like Florence, can thus be fundamental in the process of recreating the appearance of renowned lost monuments.

2.23 The della Robbia workshop, pavement of the Chapel of the Company of San Lorenzo in the Collegiata di Sant'Andrea, Empoli, 1475

Caterina's new decorative flooring indicated her growing interest not only in the goods produced in the Florentine Republic, but also in an alliance with the cadet branch of the Medici family. She was already trading with the city through the brothers, and she had previously engaged its artisans for portrait medals and textiles. She could have chosen to order the pavement from one of several shops within her territories, but clearly the goods from provincial sources paled in comparison to what she expected from the della Robbia, which Giovanni de' Medici must have praised. By ordering a pavement similar in appearance and from the same shop as the Medici example, Caterina fashioned herself as their peer and ally through this shared aesthetic choice. The della Robbia exported their distinctive ceramic works throughout Europe, and knowledgeable visitors such as dignitaries and ambassadors, attuned to the nuances of decoration and display, might well have been able to make the visual connection among the pavements and their patrons. Like the display of family devices within the home, the adoption of a certain aesthetic style or the patronage of a specific workshop could make a political statement, and Caterina sought interior embellishment endorsed by the Medici, who for years had been the leading taste-makers in Florence, even if

the family no longer wielded the same political power in 1496.[102]

Caterina's younger contemporary Isabella d'Este also looked to her male peers, in this case her relatives, when she decided to include a *studiolo* within her apartments in the Castello di San Giorgio of Mantua in the 1490s. A *studiolo* was typically an intimate space in which elite male patrons displayed their collections and gathered privileged guests for conversation. Isabella, like other Este men, commissioned paintings to decorate her studiolo's walls, but instead of scenes of the loves of the pagan gods, as in her brother Alfonso I d'Este's studiolo, she carefully planned the paintings' mythological iconographies so they upheld her status as a virtuous and intelligent woman. So while some of the details of her *studiolo* were different from those of men, the fact that she had such a space to show off her vast collection demonstrates her desire to move beyond female models of behavior. Both Isabella and Caterina continue to be considered exceptions to their sex in part because of their drive to emulate the behavior of elite men. Their choice to model themselves after men does not seem to have been socially or politically unacceptable, which suggests a certain freedom in the spending habits of elite women with independent means.[103]

Architectural space and its decoration were clearly woven into the practice and representation of power and alliance, as a document referring to Caterina's mid-regency renovations confirms. In a letter written during his visit to Forlì in early January, 1497. Francesco Tranchedini, an ambassador to the Duke of Milan, reported that Caterina received him with her children in her son Ottaviano's "newly done" *(facte de novo) camera* in the rocca.[104] Unfortunately the ambassador did not describe the room any further, but his brief mention nonetheless reveals an important detail of her diplomacy. Caterina chose to conduct this interview in her son's apartments, and seems to have made sure the ambassador was aware of their recent refurbishment. Ottaviano was the rightful heir to the vicariate and many assumed, or at least hoped, that he would soon be ruling independently. It appeared that Caterina had prepared her son's apartments for his future position and. in the meantime, was using them for the state receptions she oversaw, an arrangement that implied her subservience as regent to her son, the legitimate ruler. Although she redecorated several of the spaces according to her needs and wishes, to her public and peers, the rooms, the palace, and the vicariate were all meant for Ottaviano's future.

Additional information in this and other letters suggests more

profound reasons for why it was important for Caterina to use Ottaviano's room and not another. One of the ambassador's main goals for this mission was to find out more about Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici's role within the Riario court and whether Caterina had married him. The Duke feared that Giovanni might gain in power and position like "someone else" (*qualchun altro,* the unnamed Giacomo Feo) and so affect the political climate.[105] Francesco's letter confirms that Giovanni had purchased the local grain, lent Caterina money, and given expensive gifts of brocades and textiles to her children, and was living in Forlì with sixteen "mouths" *(boche,* or companions and servants) and even more horses and mules. It does not mention exactly where Giovanni was living, but one of Francesco's earlier letters reports that Giovanni spent considerable time in the rocca with Caterina and that his rooms were where Giacomo Feo had once lived.[106] When he first visited Forlì on business, Giovanni had resided in the nearby *cittadella,* where guests of the court, including this ambassador, typically stayed. When his relationship with Caterina grew more intimate, presumably around the time of these letters, he moved into newly renovated rooms close to hers in the fortress's palace. These rooms, the chronicler Leone Cobelli commented, were "noble" and decorated with "beautiful paintings."[107] This shift in living quarters might have been one of several developments that caused the Duke of Milan to send his political envoy to check on the situation. During her January interview with Francesco, Caterina addressed the questions about her relationship obliquely. He reported her protests to remarriage: "up until now she has not had in her soul the tolerance for a husband, and has remained widow to the count [Girolamo Riario], her consort."[108] She assured him that she would neither remarry without counsel from the Duke, her uncle, whom she considered "as a father," nor agree to any situation that would jeopardize her children's future or her relationship with Milan. Caterina's behavior during the reception coincided with these statements. The ambassador wrote that she "decided" (*discesa*) to conduct the meeting in Ottaviano's room; the choice of words suggest that another space, perhaps one of her own rooms, might have been used for occasions like this in the past. Her son's newly redecorated room was on display, not her own or any other. Caterina's choreography of the reception, which included her children, reinforced what she told the visitor—she favored her son's future, and thought of him, and not herself or "someone else"—and so substantially refuted the conflicting information that circulated about her political and personal agendas.

Useful Fortresses

If Caterina thought she could obfuscate her situation through the artful presentation of her renovations within the Riario residence at the Rocca di Ravaldino, she clearly understood the need to build up the actual defenses throughout her territories to secure her family. Strong fortresses (and loyal men-of-arms) had allowed Caterina to advance her political power at two pivotal moments in her life: in 1484 she took over the Castel Sant'Angelo in an attempt to retain some authority for the Riario family in Rome after the death of Sixtus IV and in 1488, after her husband's death, she negotiated her way into the Rocca di Ravaldino, where she cleverly transformed a grim situation into a personal triumph. The later situation was one of the most famous moments in her life, made legendary by Niccolo Machiavelli. "In our days, fortresses have not profited any ruler except the Countess of Forlì, after her husband Count Girolamo was killed," he commented in *The Prince*. "Her castle did enable her to escape popular attack, to wait for aid that was coming from Milan, and to regain her position."[109] Caterina was quite aware of what the Rocca di Ravaldino had provided for her and her family. To maintain her hard-won power as regent, she chose to reside within the protection of the fortress complex, as examined above. But her architectural interventions at the Ravaldino extended well beyond the residential areas, as she built up its defenses and those of fortifications elsewhere in her territories. Girolamo had begun updates to the fortresses and castles in Imola, Forlì, and the outlying Riario lands in the Romagna, and Caterina continued to incorporate features that could withstand new artillery and warfare. During her husband's reign, when the political situation on the Italian peninsula was relatively calm, the Riario fortresses had to protect the family from local conspiracies. The political climate was more volatile over the years of Caterina's regency, and her various strongholds needed to endure international invasions, like Charles Yin's foray into Italy, as well as local rebellions. Like any ruler faced with those circumstances, she periodically reinforced her defensive architecture.

Early in her regency, Caterina initiated an urban project that established her princely commitment to secure the citizens of Forlì as well as the court. She oversaw the construction of military housing for the seigniorial army southeast of the Rocca di Ravaldino (1491–94).[110] Her hunting park was also in this general area, but the

barracks seem to have been close to the city walls and adjacent to the *cittadella,* where the troops drilled. Caterina commissioned the design of the quarters, and her agents then convinced the city council that her innovations were beneficial for the Forlivesi. The seventy new barracks housed hundreds of mercenary soldiers and solved two significant problems. The men, living adjacent to Caterina's residence at the rocca, offered her readily available protection. More important to her subjects, the barracks were outside the city walls. Troops were traditionally quartered within the city, an arrangement that caused a number of conflicts. The foreign soldiers often caroused in the streets late at night, looted homes, and seduced young women. The new plan included a moat that surrounded the barracks and a bridge that was drawn up every night. Now outside the city walls, the soldiers were less likely to disrupt the city with their entertainments, yet they were close enough to provide immediate defense. Demonstrating her crafty handling of money, Caterina was able to finance the project with minimal cost to her court and without raising taxes. She and the city councils agreed that the materials and labor would be donated by the Forlivesi from both the city and its surrounding *contado* (countryside); the latter provided the wood and the former supplied labor, tools, stones, and other materials.[111] In return, she canceled the annual tax that typically covered the cost of military' housing. Under her handling, the construction of the new barracks seemed like a community effort, with benefits for all.

Although the city of Forli was not directly attacked during the French invasion in 1494–95, Caterina invested further in its fortifications in its aftermath. In 1496, she added two ravelins to the Rocca di Ravaldino—one along the wall of the *cittadella* near the Paradiso, and the other on the wall of her farm-garden.[112] The latter was a key location on the southeast side of the rocca complex that overlooked the area that stretched toward the mountains from which potential attackers could arrive. The same year, Caterina called for the rebuilding of the city walls. Work on the walls was still underway in the late summer of 1498, when Caterina contributed money as well as bricks and stones reclaimed from the damaged palace where the Riario lived during the reign of Girolamo.[113] While she had ordered some repairs on the merlins and walls of her former home in 1492, she now demolished parts of it to supply materials for the new walls. This practical choice evokes a wry symbolism: Caterina took the physical remnants from the seigniorial palace, the site of her husband's murder and the object of local citizens' rage in its aftermath,

and utilized them to protect not only her regency and but also some of the same Forlivesi who had once sought her family's downfall.

She might have lived in Forlì, but Caterina did not ignore the defenses of Imola and called for projects that improved the city and its security. She reinforced the city walls from the Porta d'Alone to the Porta del Piolo, a southeastern stretch not protected by artillery from the rocca (1490–92). The project began with the systematization of the city's drainage ditches, and the addition of new cisterns and channels to collect water (1490).[114] Caterina also built new barracks for the men-of-arms stationed within the rocca. Her main body of troops was in Forlì, and Imola's fortress was sufficiently large to accommodate this smaller battalion.[115]

Caterina was very concerned with the strength of her fortresses in the outlying Riario territories and she fortified several castles, most of which surrounded Imola (Illustration 1.3).[116] Innovations in artillery and firearms in the late fifteenth century caused existing fortresses to become obsolete, and she needed to employ new designs that would allow the fortresses to survive the new forms of attack. Keeping in mind current developments in defensive architecture, her masons did the best they could to reinforce the castles' walls to be thicker and lower in height, and redesigned their towers and ramparts to avoid blind spots.[117] Soon after taking power, Caterina updated the fortress at Riolo Terme, and in 1491 turned her attention toward those at Tossignano, Bubano, and Forlimpopoli (Illustration 2.24). Hindered by lack of funds and time, Caterina worked within her means. For instance, at Forlimpopoli, she tore down a tower, rebuilt the walls, and in general strengthened the fortress.[118] While the Riario fortresses never achieved the modern innovations of the new *rocche* built at San Leo and Sassocorvaro by the abundantly wealthy Federico da Montefeltro in the 1470s, they provided reasonable protection for Caterina's territories.[119]

2.24 The fortress at Forlimpopoli

While the details of most of these defensive commissions remain unknown, some information survives regarding the fortress at Bubano, a castle that Caterina built from the ground up. Caterina's involvement with Bubano began before her long-term regency. The region around the fortress was contested territory. It lay 011 the border of Ferrarese territory, and Duke Ercole d'Este considered at least a portion of it as part of his domain. In 1487, some of Ercole's men, claiming that they were within his lands, burned down a small building used by herdsmen from the Riario territories. At the time, Girolamo was ill. so Caterina, acting as his temporary regent, settled the ensuing boundary dispute with the help of Lodovico Sforza and ordered the structure to be rebuilt. After Girolamo's death, she decided the area needed better surveillance and protection, and in 1491 she built a new fortress, called the Castel Nuovo, near the older Castel Bubano. By 1493, the new construction was nearing completion, and a notarial act dated 31 May of that year records that Jacopo de Bargellis, master of wall-building, was to erect four new towers.120 The Castel Nuovo at Bubano is now popularly referred to as the "Castello della Contessa" because of its association with Caterina, its initial patron. The security of her territories depended on her fortresses and she understandably paid much attention to them.

2.25 The fortress at Bagnara di Romagna

Caterina again added to her fortresses around Imola as part of her preparations for Charles VIII's expedition into Italy (1494–95).[121] Her uncle Lodovico Sforza, the de facto ruler of Milan until fall 1494, when he became the official Duke, had allied himself with the French and urged Charles to make his claim as the rightful heir of Naples. Although she could have sided with Milan and the French, Caterina instead joined the league of the Pope, Naples, and Florence, whom she thought could offer her better protection. She was hoping to avoid any warfare within the Riario territories, but she was pragmatic. In the months leading up the invasion, she refortified her fortresses and other defenses at Tossignano, Bagnara di Romagna, Dozza, Mordano, and Monte Battaglia, which she had recently reclaimed as part of the Riario territories (Illustration 2.25). South of Forlì, she redesigned and fortified the fortress at Forlimpopoli by lowering the towers and walls to make a more compact and less vulnerable structure. When the French attacked her fortress at Mordano, and she received no help from the Papal league, Caterina realigned herself with the French and Milanese faction, a move which limited further attacks in her territories. The troops proceeded on toward Florence, which they occupied for several months; the Pope, Milan, Venice, and Naples then joined against the French with the hopes of stopping their incursions down the peninsula. After the French invasion, Caterina made necessary repairs on the damaged defenses at Bagnara di Romagna

and Bubano. The French had completely destroyed the rocca of Mordano with their bombardments, and she decided not to rebuild it, a decision influenced no doubt by cost-efficiency. Building an entire new fortress might have been too expensive at this point, whereas repairs on damaged, but largely standing, structures was a more affordable and practical expense.

When faced with the oncoming assaults of Cesare Borgia and his French troops in the fall of 1499, Caterina decided that most of the repairs and reinforcements she had undertaken since 1495 on her fortresses would have to suffice.[122] To clear the sight lines around the Rocca di Ravaldino, she razed the hunting park that extended from her residence. She drilled her troops and stockpiled ammunition and supplies within her fortresses; she sent her children and select papers and goods to safety in Florence. Unlike most of her peers, who fled their territories in fear of Cesare's onslaught, Caterina chose to remain with her troops in the Rocca di Ravaldino, and, in fact, this was the last of the Riario strongholds to fall during the attacks. Cesare bombarded and eventually captured the fortresses at Riolo Terme, Tossignano, Bagnara di Romagna, Solarolo, and Bubano, Dozza was one of the few that avoided attack, and the castellan at the rocca in Imola surrendered before his fortress came under siege. At Forlì, Caterina and her militia held the Rocca di Ravaldino for almost two weeks of heavy bombing. The end came when French soldiers breached the fortress walls and captured her. The fortress that had once sheltered her and allowed her to negotiate the resurrection of her family's fate now failed her. Its walls were not thick enough to withstand the more powerful, modern artillery of the French army. The castle was now part of Cesare Borgia's rapidly expanding states in the Romanga. When he completed his invasions, he extensively renovated the fortresses at Imola and Forlì to repair and improve, but also make his mark on them; later, Pope Julius II, who returned these territories to direct papal control, added to the strongholds as well, again to establish his jurisdiction. Despite these and other alterations, the fortresses at Imola and Forli each now bear the nickname of "Rocca Sforzesca" and stand as memorials of Caterina's legendary attempts to save her family's patrimony.

After Caterina lost the Riario holdings in the Romagna, she never ruled over territories again, but she did acquire jurisdiction over some significant buildings as the guardian of her son Giovanni cli Giovanni de' Medici. Giovanni's inheritance included his portion of the Medici Casa Vecchia on the via Larga in Florence and the villas of Castello

and Trebbio, both working farms in the hills outside the city.[123] It is difficult to know if Caterina initiated any work at either villa—her grandson Cosimo I de' Medici radically altered both of them and little remains from before the mid-sixteenth ccntuty.[124] Through her youngest son, Caterina gained lavish homes that provided her not only with housing fit for a prince, but also estates that yielded food, supplies, and considerable income. By this time, Caterina's children by Girolamo Riario and Giacomo Feo had all found employment or marriages elsewhere and were no longer living with her on a regular basis. Caterina spent some time at these country estates, where Giovanni could take advantage of the fresh air and had the space to learn horseback riding, but her final days unfolded in Florence in the Medici Casa Vecchia, where she died in 1509.[125]

In theory, rulers in the Renaissance should have been able to keep their subjects happy through the practice of beneficence, magnificence, and splendor. In reality, most princes had to maintain their defenses and invest heavily in fortifications and other defensive architecture to protect themselves from local and foreign enemies. The working architect, artist, and theorist, Francesco di Giorgio Martini described the ruler's fortress as the "head" of the city—the most important part, the brain, of any well-planned urban district.[126] And. according to Alberti, despotic rulers like the Riario in the Roinanga, but also the Malatesta of Rimini, the Este of Ferrara, and the Gonzaga of Mantua, were in particular need of strong fortresses to preserve their status.[127] But the fortress could be symbolic of the ruler's power and his or her separate, and possibly menacing, status.[128] Machiavelli's expressed the ambivalence:

> Fortresses are useful or not according to the times; if they do you good in one way, they injure you in another. The conclusion, then, can be stated thus: a wise prince who is more afraid of his own people than of foreigners builds fortresses; he who is more afraid of foreigners than of his own people rejects them .... In any case, your best possible fortress is that your subjects do not hate you. Even though you have a fortress, if the people hate you, it does not protect you, because the people when they take up arms never lack foreigners to aid them.[129]

Machiavelli, usually so pragmatic, revealed some idealism when he implied that if the prince's subjects loved him, they would protect him from foreign attack. During a time when national and international conflicts proliferated, princes needed strong fortresses and military power if they wanted to secure their position. And while it was rare

for a woman to invest in defensive architecture, female rulers needed to defend themselves just as much as, if not more than, their male counterparts. Caterina's architectural projects, whether defensive or residential, were perfectly in keeping with a ruler's prerogative and evidence of her continuing commitment to her family's estate.

3.1 Giulio Romano, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*. 1532–34, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua

Notes

1 "Unde et eius aulae amplitudo magnorum Principum aulis aequatur." J. Foresti, *De Claris sceletisque mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497), pp. CLX-CLXV, quote on p. CLXV. Transcribed inP.D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 272–76; quote on p. 276.

2 Caterina kept cows, and perhaps other animals, at a farm at the Castello Giubileo, near Rome. She sought compensation when they were killed and the castle sacked in the riots after Sixtus IV's death. See Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 50–53; E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago* (Chicago, 1967), p. 69.

3 See C.E. King, "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian Style," *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 372–93; C.E. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1500* (Manchester, 1998). For examples of women who did build, see the essays in S.E. Reiss and D.G.

Wilkins (eds), *Beyond Isabella* (Kirksville, MO. 2001); D.Y. Gerardo, "Lucrezia Borgia's Palace in Renaissance Ferrara," *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 64/4 (2005): 474–97; K.A. Mclver, *Women, Art, And Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520—1580: Negotiating Power* (Aldershot, 2006); and D.Y. Gerardo, "Lucrezia Borgia as Entrepreneur," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 53–91.

4 L.B. Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* ed. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavemor (Cambridge, 1988), p. 33.

5 As cited in R. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, MD, 1993), p. 223.

6 G, Pontano, "II trattato della Magnificenza," in I *trattati delle yirtù sociale,* trans. and ed. F. Tateo (Rome, 1965). pp. 242 and 234, respectively. See also E. Welch, "Public Magnificence and private display: Giovanni Pontano's *De Splendore* (1498) and the domestic arts," *Journal of Design History* 15/4 (2002): 211–27.

7 Pontano, "II trattato della Magnificenza," pp. 240—1–1.

8 See A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 162–70.

9 For Classical antecedents and Renaissance debates over magnificence, see J. Lindow, *The Renaissance Palace in Florence* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 9–42.

10 L.B. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence,* trans. R.N. Watkins (Columbia, 1969); and note 4, above.

11 Lindow, pp. 43–76.

12 See for example C. Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London, 1981); W. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: the Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, 1973); G. Lubkin, yi *Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley, CA, 1994); C. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge, 1997); T. Touhy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este (1471–1505) and the Invention of a Ducal Capital* (Cambridge, 1996); and E.S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, CT and London, 1995); and D. Kent, *Cosimo de 'Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven, CT, 2000).

13 See the account books regarding her grain sales from 1495 to 1499 in ASF, MAP, Filza 83, n. 43 cc. 214–18; and it 47, cc. 261–95. See also the record of the grain she sold through Giovanni de' Medici, ASF, MAP, Filza, 83, n. 38, c. 206.

14 T. Tolley, "States of Independence," *Renaissance Studies* 10/2 (1996), p. 239.

15 Scholars long assumed that Girolamo Riario's Roman palace was the Palazzo Corsini on the I.Lungant. In fact, Girolamo's son Francesco built that

palace in the 1510s on land given to him by his cousin Raffaele Riario, who had acquired it in 1492. See C.L. Frommel, *Die römanische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (3 vols., Tübingen, 1973), vol. 2, p. 281.

16 For the renovation of Rome by Sixtus IV, see F. Benzi, *Sisto H' Renovator Urbis* (Rome, 1990); and Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Un Pontificato ed una cilià* (Rome, 1986). For della Rovere patronage, see L.P Baumann, "Power and Image: Delia Rovere Patronage in late Quattrocento Rome" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990).

17 N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, in N. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others*, trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham, 1989), vol. 1, p. 60.

18 See F. Scoppola, "Memoria della casa. Architettura: dalla composizione al restauro," in F. Scoppola (ed.), *Palazzo A hemps; Indagini per il restauro della fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome, 1987), pp. 9–142; and M.F. Milone, "Palazzo Riario-Altemps: un inedito frammento della Roma di Sisto IV e il restauro tardo-cinquecentesco di Martino Longhi," *Quaderni dell 'Istituto di Storia dell' Architettura* XXIV/139–150 (1977–78): 13–48. Pasolini claims to have seen in the Riario Sforza archive in the ASN an original bill of sale, dated 1479 and now lost, for existing houses and land near the Tor Sanguinara. The receipt may well have been for adjacent or additional land, since Girolamo constructed his palazzo complex over the foundations of several existing building. The Riario resided in the Palazzo Orsini at least through the fall of 1477. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 129, p. 66.

19 The layout of the current Palazzo Altemps is based on the renovation completed for Cardinal Altemps beginning in the late sixteenth century. At that time, the palace was expanded, the courtyard was completely enclosed, and the main entrance of the building was moved from the west fagade to the south fagade. See Scoppola, "Memoria della casa," pp. 20–59.

20 ASR, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, Notaio Beninbene, vol. 175 (transcribed in Scoppola, *Palazzo Altemps,* p. 266). For some contemporary ideas on the necessary components of a noble house, see Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* pp. 291–319; and B. Preyer, "Planning for visitors at Florentine palaces," *Renaissance Studies* 12:3 (1998): 357–74.

21 According to M.F. Milone ("Palazzo Riario-Altemps," p. 42, n. 14), the stables may have been located tmder the tower on the Via dei Soldati. She deduces this from studying documents in the Altemps archive from the late sixteenth century, but those documents do not pertain directly to the Riario phase of the building.

22 L. Pacioli, *Divina Proportione* (Venice, 1509), fols. 67r-67v (transcribed in Scoppola, *Palazzo Altemps,* p. 198, note 1). Unfortunately, Pacioli does not give a date; Melozzo was working in Rome from 1475 until 1481. Alberti might have been involved in the design as well, although this is unlikely, see Scoppola, "Memoria della casa," p. 9; and P. Romano, *Ponte* (Rome, 1943), p. 102. For Melozzo's work in Rome, see I. Frank,

"Melozzo da Forlì and the Rome of Sixtus IV, 1471–1484" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991).

23 Baumann, "Power and linage," pp. 79–121, 147–63.

24 Fragments of frescoes from the façade, painted in the 1510s by Pasquale da Caravaggio after the Riario sold the palace to the Soderini, are on display inside the Palazzo Altemps. SeeF. *Scoppola, Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Altemps (Milan,* 1997), p. 171. These frescoes may have been restorations of an earlier decorative program executed under Girolamo.

25 "In casa non vi era altro da saccomannare se non legnami et vectovaglie: et tucto quello è stato tolto et portatone tutti gli usci et le finestre et una gran parte delle finestre ferrate: divelti gli arbori et herbe erano nell'orto et una porta di marmo che era in decto horto et piombo delle docce, le tramezze delle stalle et le rastrelliere del legname et le mangiaroie et erano tutte di travertino murate: et alcuni conci di camini et di finestre gittati in terra et inline una parte delle rose dorate del palcho." Letter dated 14 August 1484 from Guidantonio Vespucci, Florentine ambassador to Rome, ASF, Dieci di Balia, dist. 4, n. 33; transcribed in Scoppola, *Palazzo Altemps,* p. 266; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 221, pp. 97–98.

26 For generalinformationon the layout of rooms withinltalianpalacesinthe Renaissance, see P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), esp. pp. 284–320; see also K. Weil-Garris and J. D'Amico "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu,"* in H. A. Millon (ed.), *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 45–123. See also Alberti's recommendations in *On the Art of Building,* Book 5, pp. 117–27; 140–53.

27 Scoppola, "Memoria della casa," p. 13, n. 5.

28 Ibid., pp. 34–35, and figures 42 and 43.

29 Letter of 30 October 1481 from the Milanese ambassador in Rome to the Duke of Milan in ASM, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 90; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,v*ol. 3, doc. 195, p. 91.

30 ASF, Dieci di Balia, dist. 4, n. 33; see also note 25 above.

31 P. Petraroia, "'Per dar piacere a la speculatione.' Dipinti sacri e profani nella dimora di Girolamo Riario, di Francesco Soderini e degli Altemps," in Scoppola, *Palazzo Altemps*, pp. 197–240; see also pp. 50–51, 91–93, 100–103, and 122–24; and Scoppola, *Museo Nazionale Romano,* pp. 34, 43, 54–61, 96–97.

32 Frank, "Melozzo da Forlì."

33 See, for example, N. Dacos, *La Decoaverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance* (London, 1969).

34 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* pp. 298–99.

35 R. Starn, "Seeing Culture in a Room for a Renaissance Prince," in L. Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley. CA, 1989), pp. 205–32.

36 Breisach, pp. 68–74; see also note 25. above.

37 Document dated 24 December 1496, Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rogiti originali, sez. 1, vol. 895, fol. 99; transcribed in Scoppola, "Palazzo Altemps," p. 266. Raffaele Riario lived in the palace from at least the summer of 1492. See the letter dated

23 August 1492 from Francesco Tranchedini to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco; printed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, p. 172, doc. 440. In the same letter, Tranchedini notes that the palace had been restored to Caterina's sons.

38 Document dated 12 July 1511, Archivio Soderini (Grottaferrata), vol. 39, fols 1–16; transcribed in Scoppola, "Palazzo Altemps," p. 267.

39 BNCF, Magliabechiano II.I. 141, fols. 28r-28v; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, S.IV.4, fols. 13v-15r; and M. Dechert, "City and Fortress in the Works of Francesco di Giorgio: The Theory and Practice of Defensive Architecture and Town Planning" (PhD. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1984), pp. 57–60.

40 Antonio Averlino (Filarete), *Trattato di Architettura,* ed. A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi (Milan, 1972); and Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* esp. book 5. For the projects, see R. Schofield, "Ludovico il Moro and Vigevano," *Arte Lombarda* 62 (1982): 93–140; C.R. Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca, 1987); Rosenberg; Touhy; and note 16, above.

41 The reurbanization of Imola has long been attributed to Sixtus IV, and dated to the mid-to late 1470s. See, for instance, PG. Pasini, "Committenze Riario e della Rovere in Romagna," in S. Bottaro, A. Dagnino, and G. Rotondi Terminiello (eds), *Sisto IV e Giulio II* (Savona, 1989), pp. 175–86.

42 "questa terra non è grande e male casezata." Letter of 4 May 1477 to the Duke of Milan, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, busta 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46–47.

43 S. Zaggia, *Una Piazza per la città del principe* (Rome, 1999), pp. 86–87. See the letter of 7 September 1481 to the Duke of Milan in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, busta 192; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 182, pp. 87–88,

44 For a detailed account of the construction, see Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* pp. 98–122; and F. Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale a Imola* (2 vols., Imola, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 30–47.

45 Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* pp. 98, 105.

46 "solo in qualche parte finite." J. Foresti, *Supplemento alle Cronache* (1491), as quoted in Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 1. p. 41, note 30. See

also Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* p. 98, for the slight variation of the words in a later version of Foresti's text.

47 Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* p. 102.

48 Ibid., pp. 81–97.

49 Ibid., p. 89. For the rapport between Girolamo and the Vitmvian circle of Raffaele Riario, see M.D. Davis, " 'Opus lsodomum' at the Palazzo della Cancelleria: Vitruvian Studies and Archaeological and Antiquarian Interests at the Court of Raffaele Riario," in S.D. Squarzina (ed.), *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell 'Antico nei secoli XV e XVI* (Milan, 1989), pp. 442–57, esp. 447.

50 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol I, p. 34.

51 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 31.

52 Ibid.

53 Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* p. 88.

54 The building was subsumed into subsequent construction, and little remains. Mancini thinks the Palazzina Riario may have been intended as the Riario home, instead of the palazzo on the main piazza. Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol 1, pp. 35–36.

55 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 58–64; and Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* pp. 59–70.

56 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* Vol. l,pp. 64–67.

57 Ibid., vol. l.pp. 58–78.

58 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 65, 73, notes 93, 94. Girolamo renewed this exemption in 1479.

59 Mancini notes how the cost of work was several times the projected amount, in part because of special requests from Girolamo, and other interested parties. For instance, Girolamo insisted on a more stable foundation for the bell tower. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 66.

60 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* p. 117.

61 For the fortress in Imola, see Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* p. 74; and F. Ceccarelli, "La Rocca negli anni della signoria di Girolamo Riario," in C. Pedrini (ed.), *LaRocca, 2; Architettura e storia dell'edificio* (Imola, 2001), pp. 67–103. For the projects in the area around Imola, see Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 2, pp. 24–29. Less is known about these commissions. Sixtus IV gave the territory of Piancaldoli (30 km southwest of Imola) to Girolamo in 1473, and in 1478 Antonio and Francesco Marchesi reinforced and enlarged the rocca; it was captured in 1488 by the Florentines. See D. Berardi and G.F. Fontana (eds), *Rocche e Castelli di Romagna* (3 vols., Bologna, 1970), vol. 1, p. 282, where the act of reconstruction is transcribed. Girolamo also hired Giorgio Marchesi in 1487 to restore and reinforce the Rocca at Bagnara di Romagna, Ibid.,

vol. 1, pp. 145–46.

62 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale, vol.* I, pp. 24–29.

63 Zaggia, *Una Piazza,* pp. 74–76. The Paradiso in the *rocca* at Imola has often been attributed to the interventions of Cesare Borgia, since it appears in Leonardo's sketches, but Zaggia's new research places it under Girolamo's works. The term "Paradiso" has several connotations. Most often, it refers to an enclosed space open to the sky, such as a garden or hunting park. It also can be an area enclosed within porticoes in front of a church, or a monastery garden. See J. Fleming, et al., *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (5 th edition, London, 1998), p. 423. At Imola, and later, Forlì, the term perhaps refers to both the enclosed nature of the fortress and the open, garden-like quality of the space.

64 E. Welch, *Art and Authority' in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, CT and London, 1995), pp. 169–238.

65 For instance, on their first visit to Forli in the summer of 1481, the Riario resided in the palace at the center of town, and then moved to the Rocca after they uncovered a conspiracy against them. Letter to the Duke of Milan, 26 July 1481, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 192; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 168, p. 82.

66 M. Gori, "Palazzo Comunale (piazza Saffi, 8)," in M. Foschi and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; La sua città e il suo tempo* (Milan, 1994). pp. 334–38. See also L. Cobelli, *Cronache Forlivesi,* eds G. Carducci and E. Frati (Bologna, 1874), p. 339; A. Beniardi, *Cronache Forlivesi* (Bologna, 1895), vol. 1, part 1, p. 264; and ASFo, Ms. 1, Libro Madonna, c. 28r.

67 Cobelli, p. 222.

68 Ibid., p. 290.

69 Ibid., p. 206. The room in the restored building is now known as the "Sala delle muse," since it features frescoes of a series of muses set into Active architecture painted by Francesco Menzocchi (1502–84) and uncovered in the 1957 restoration. See S. Tumidei, "LaPittura nei secoli XV e XVI," in C. Casanova, G. Tocci, A. Varni, A. Vasina (eds), *Storia di Forlì* (4 vols., Forlì, 1989–92), vol. 3, pp. 235–52.

70 Cobelli, pp. 316–22.

71 G, Missirini, "Rocca di Ravaldino," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì,* pp. 276–79; amd M. Gori, "L'architettura e la scultura nei secoli XV e XVI," in Casanova, et al., *Storia di Forlì*, vol. 3, pp. 211–34. For Girolamo's work on the *cittadella*, see Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 57. After the earthquakes of August 1483, Girolamo erected a temporary pavilion within the *cittadella* to house his family because the city palace was damaged; Cobelli, p. 281. The *cittadella* currently houses a prison, and nothing remains of the buildings that Girolamo or Caterina may have erected within its walls.

72 Gori, pp. 211–34.

73 Interestingly, neither the murder of Giacomo Feo nor the death of Giovanni de' Medici occurred within a Riario architectural setting. Giacomo was attacked and torn to pieces on the roadside, and Giovanni died of natural causes while taking the waters at San Piero in Bagno. Giacomo's murderers had so much disdain for him that they did not honor Mm with a palace murder. Instead, they stmck when he was outside and among Caterina's entourage of courtiers, where he could acceptably exist, but not in his rooms in her palace. To assassinate hint within the palace would acknowledge his illicit position. While the location of Giovanni's death is largely coincidental, it does suggest that he was "outside" the official court. Although Caterina wanted to claim his body and bring it back to Forlì, Giovanni's brother Lorenzo forbade her and arranged to have the body returned to the Medici palace in Florence before it was buried in San Lorenzo. These end-of-life events highlight the ambiguous position each man sustained within the Riario court.

74 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 59–61.

75 "A me pare che questa [Rocca] sia una delle belle et più forte fortezze che io habbi visto et intendo ch'è munita per X anni." Letter of 21 April 1488, ASF, MAP, Filza 40, n. 296, c. 311; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 277, pp. 118–21.

76 The chronicler Bernardi also suggests that Paradiso was outside the new fortress: "where our old rocca was, which was called Paradise, toward Faenza was the new rocca" (Dove era la nostra roca vechia, al quale se chiamava al Paradice, di verse Faienza de dita roca nova). Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 135. See also Missirini, "Rocca di Ravaldino," p. 278.

77 See, for instance, the letter of 5 January 1497 from Francesco Tranchedini to the Duke of the Milan, ASM, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Bologna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 710, pp. 264–67.

78 F. Oliva, *Vita di Caterina Sforza, Signora di Forlì* (Forlì, 1821), pp. 109–10.

79 See, for instance, the letters she sent from the Ravaldino on 8 May 1488 and later that year, summarized in Pasolini, Caterina Sforza, vol. 3, docs 299 and 310, pp. 138 and 140.

80 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* p. 300.

81 Ercole d'Este built several gardens in Ferrara. In 1477, he constructed just north of the Castelvecchio an enclosed garden that eventually grew to be part of the duchess' apartments. See Rosenberg, p. 118; and Touhy, pp. 104–17. The Este's garden in Ferrara in the fifteenth century contained a loggia where the family could dine, and their family stemma appeared on sculptures. See G. Sabadino degli Arienti, *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este: The 'De Triumphis religionis' of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti,* ed. W. Gundersheimer (Geneva, 1972), pp. 52–53. It was embellished with the Este amis and devices, including a sculpture of

Hercules. Ercole cleared space for a secret garden in the adjoining Palazzo del Corte. Touhy, pp. 79–84. This was a kitchen garden, but it was also used for *al fresco* dining.

82 C. Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven, CT, 1990); see also G. Masson, *Italian Gardens* (London, 1961).

83 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 310.

84 Letter dated 30 August 1490, ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi esteri, busta 1177; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 365, pp. 154–55; see also doc. 366, a letter from the Governor of Imola that confirms Bernardi's account.

85 "Deliberò dita Madonna de volerela adotare de qualque sove zentileze, zoè de fare una casina come imo barco, overe zardine, come per ora se costuma ala cità de Feraria e in multe alter loco, da potere tenere hogne soa salvadichume overe animate inracionale de hogne altra rasone; e qui lore pore a piantare hogne suova frasCha frotifera.... Comencione li propinque e fene certe bele edificio da tenere le molte vache trentine et altre sove bestie.... Fate che lore abene queste, comparone cercha tomadure de quile tere laporatorie, comenciande aprese al fosse et andande drete ala via da Bosechie ... et... ala via del Ronche ... a che era cercha 900 varghe ..." Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 122–23.

86 He could not have seen the park, which Caterina destroyed in 1499, when he was composing his biography of Caterina, but he may have drawn from eye-witness accounts or been able to see remnants of the structural foundations. Oliva, p. 110; see also Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale, vol.* 1, p. 88.

87 Lazzaro, *Italian Renaissance Garden,* pp. 109–30.

88 Rosenberg, pp. 110–11.

89 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* pp. 140–41; 145–52. See Francesco di Giorgio'splan for a walled hunting park in *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Ms. Saluzziano 148, fol. 25r.

90 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* p. 300.

91 Bernardi, vol. 2, p. 249.

92 "E questa nuova fabbrica fu da lei denominata il Paradiso dalla bellezza delle comere fabbricate con moderna architettura, ed ornate di pitture illustri, oltre la vaga manifattura di ricchi solari posti a oro, ed intagliati a rose, ed a biscioni; talchè senza dubbio, noil solamente pareggiavano, ma avanzavano tutte le altre di comodità, di vaghezza, e di prezzo." Oliva, pp. 109–10.

93 Caterina seems to have long understood the value of the agricultural production in her territory; see note 13, above. She granted the city of

Forlì a license to build a mill in May 1492; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 421, p. 169.

94 Missirini, "Rocca di Ravaldino," p. 278.

95 Bernardi refers to the palace as the *casina* (vol. 1, part 2, p. 122). See M. Foschi and L. Prati, "Pietre, terrecotte, niattonelle: modulli,', e modelli," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Fl'r!i*, pp. 221–36, esp. 232–34; and M. Foschi and L. Prati, "*Disiecta Membra* la decorazione in cotto a Fòrli nel Rinasceimento," in C. Di Francesco (ed.), *II Cotto Ira Storia e Ricerca* (Ferrrara, 1995), pp. 19–30, esp. p. 29. The Museo delle Ceraniiche of Fòrh has at least twenty-five fragments of the tiles.

96 A. Dressen, *Pavimenti decorati del Quattrocento in Italia* (Venice, 2008), pp. 360–61, 385.

97 Ibid., pp. 135–47, for analysis of the various motifs in tile pavements.

98 ASF, MAP, Filza 90, n. 11, cc. 228–96, transcription of the letter regarding the tiles at c. 277v: "A di 18 deto [guigno 1496] per Pasquino a Lorenzo et Giovanni de Medici: A di 16 pel cappelleano vi scripsi hora da Excellentia di Madonna vi mandate lapportatore per ragione che vuole fare il pavimento e il sotere d una camera et cappella degli lavori di Luca della robbia come ne la camera terrena dal nostra Lorenzo e per questo risposto verremo che per lapportatore ci madasse tanti pezi deglo lavoro che feccino uno quadro il quale sia di diversi colori ed partitite secondo stano bene: et per che Io. non so molto bene daivi ad intendera questo il abbi e di mandare ed entro in altro particulare/ ma indico che sua Signora vuole fare i belli pavimenti et vorrebbe vedere e colori et qualita de quadri opti assimile cose et glio mandatene qualche mostra secondo vi pare che meglio di noi lintedere e advisare particulamente il costo /e/ otante il pezo /e/ il b. secondo vi pare pura che siamo dal ill. benissime infomiati."

99 See D. Carl, "La Casa Vecchia dei Medici e il suo giardino," in G. Cherubini and G. Fanelli (eds), *II Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze* (Florence, 1990), pp. 3 8–43. See also H. Saalman and P Mattox, "The First Medici Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLIV (1985), pp. 329–45.

100 For Piero's *studiolo,* see A. Marquand, *Luca della Robbia* (Princeton, 1914), pp. 89–94; F. Ames-Lewis, "The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici" (New York and London, 1984). p. 13; F. Quinte,io. *Maiolica nell'architettura del Rinascimento itana.no (1440–1520)* (Florence, 1991), p. 12; L. Syson, "The Medici Study," i. M- Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Denis (eds), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006), pp. 288–93; and Dressen, *Pavimenti decorati*, pp. 344—45. See also F. Quinterio. "Natura e architettura nella borrega robbiana," in G. Gentilini (ed.), *I Della Robbia e 1'arte nuova della sculhtra invetriata* (Florence, 1998), pp. 57–85; and Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, p. 60.

101 Carl, "La Casa Vecchia," pp. 38–43.

102 The main branch of the Medici family was in exile at the time of Caterina's request, and it is unlikely that she was trying to copy the pavement in the *studiolo* of their new palace and so emulate their taste, especially since there is no mention of it in the copybook.

103 The literature on Isabella's *studiolo* is vast. See especially S.J. Campbell, *The Cabinent of Eros* (New Haven, CT and London, 2006); C.M. Brown, *Isabella d'Este in the ducal palace in Mantua: an overview of her rooms in the Castello di San Giorgio and the Corte Vecchia* (Rome, 2005); D. Ferrari and R. Iotti, *II codice Stivini: inventario della collezione di Isabella d'Este nello studiolo e nella grotta in Corte vecchia nel Palazzo ducale di Mantova* (Modern, 1995); R. San Juan. "The Court Lady's Dilemma: Isabella d'Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance," *Oxford Art Journal* 14:1 (1991): 67–78; and E. Verheyen, *The Paintings in the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New York, 1971).

104 "et così in quella sera propria fuy admisso in RoCha accompagnato da alcuni de li suoy fin nella camera del Signore Ottaviano che sonno stantie facte de novo, separate dal cassero e torre maestra, dove epsa contessa era discesa per darmi audientia; et trovandola io lì insieme con li fioli." Letter dated 5 January 1497, ASMI, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 710, pp. 264–67, quoted material, p. 264.

105 Ibid.

106 Letter dated 2 December 1496, ASMI, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 707, pp. 261–62.

107 "E di in citadella poi la illustra madonna fè fare una camora nobile et dipinta bella in Rocca apresso la sua camora, et illi logiare e'magnifico Zolianni. " Cobelli, p. 413.

108 "che fin ad qui la non haveva havuto in animo di tollere marito, poy che rimase vidua del Conte suo consorte, et che quando pure la gli mettesse pensiero, la non faria che prima non lo facesse intendere alia Ex.a V.a quale reputava in locho di padre." Letter dated 5 January 1497, ASMI, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 710, pp. 264–67, quoted material, p. 265.

109 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 80. See also L. Marinelli, "Caterina Sforza alia difesa dei suoi domini della Romagna," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna,* series VI, 22 (1931–32): 95–112.

110 Documents on the project can be found in ASFo, Ms. 1, *Libra Madonna,* fols 5, 8–9. See also Bernardi, vol. I. part 1, pp. 317–21; part 2, p. 220; Cobelli, p. 351; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 374 and 376, p. 157; and L. Marinelli, "Arte retrospettiva; le Rocche di Imola e di Forlì," *Emporium* XX/117–118 (1904): 196–217, 273–92.

111 For a description of the project, see Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 1, p. 87; vol. 2, pp. 218–19, for a transcription of the contract with the

master carpenters. See also ASFo, Ms. 1, Libro Madonna, fols. 8r-9r.

112 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 1, p. 88.

113 ASFo, Ms. 1, Libro Madonna, fols. 28r and 118v-19r; Beniardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 134; Cobelli, p. 411; the document dated 24 August 1498 in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 835, p. 302; see also the summary of a letter of 25 June 1492 regarding earlier work on the Palazzo, ibid., vol. 3, doc. 432. p. 170.

114 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale, vol.* I. p. 87.

115 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 86–87. Archaeologists found traces of the barracks foundations in 1966.

116 For Caterina's military architecture overall, Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 86–88; related documents are transcribed in vol. 2. pp. 216–25. See also D. Berardi and and G.F Fontana (eds), *Rocche e Castelli di Romagna* (3 vols., Bologna, 1970), vol 1, pp. 145–46; 189; 242; 258; 269; 316; 348–49; 358–59; and vol. 2, pp. 122; 264; and L. Marinelli, *Le antiche fortezze di Romagna* (Imola, 1937). Caterina seems to have lost some fortresses as well. San Mauro, a fortress given to Girolamoby SixtusIV, was captured in late 1491. Caterina wanted to be able to repurchase it, it was instead offered to the current pope Innocent Vm or to Venice. See also Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs. 390–92, p. 161.

117 S. Pepper and N. Adams, *Firearms cmdFortifications* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 3–31.

118 See the letter of 10 May 1493 from Puccio Pucci to Piero de' Medici, ASF, MAP, Filza 54, n. 165; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 460, pp. 177–80. See also Berardi and Fontana, vol. 2, p. 264; and T. Aldini, *La rocca di Forlimpopoli* (Villa Verucchio, 1990).

119 These were likely designed by Francesco di Giorgio. G. Volpe. *Rocche e fortificazioni delDucato di Urbino (1444–1502)* (Urbino, 1982), pp. 39–49; 58–68.

120 L. Baldisseri,Za *rocca di Bubano* (Imola, 1898);Mancini, *Urbanisticarinascimentale,* vol. 1, p. 88; Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1. pp. 189–91. Bernardi notes that the new castle was near a *torretta* (tower-fortress) called il Bubano, which is clearly the older defensive building.

121 Breisach, pp. 153–59.

122 Ibid., pp. 218–40.

123 See note 152 in Chapter 1.

124 R.F. Giannetto, *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (State College, PA, 2009).

125 Caterina's letters reveal where she was living during these years. For instance, it appears she was at the Villa Castello on 6 May 1509 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1350, p. 536).

126 Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Saluzziano 148. fol. 3r. See also M. Dechert, "City and Fortress," p. 67.

127 Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* p. 117.

128 J. Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles in the Renaissance: Symbols of 'Signoria'/ Symbols of Tyranny,'*Art journal*/48/2 (1989): 130–37.

129 Machiavelli, *The Prince,* 80.

Chapter 3
Splendor in the Princely Court

> Honorable, beautiful, magnificent, and rich the appointment [of the rooms]. One can see here the most beautiful tapestries made with gold and silk, pillows, covers, and many other hangings of silk both smooth and brushed, in grey and crimson, some in velvet, or in white damask .... [There is also] a very high credenza well-stocked with silver worked in diverse and singular [designs] that are from the Most Reverend Pietro Riario, given by His Holiness to our Signore, Count Girolamo.
>
> —Gianluigi Bossi to Bona of Savoy, 4 May 1477[1]

A rich array of textiles and silver greeted Caterina Sforza at the reception in the Palazzo Comunale of Imola after her triumphal entrance into the city in May 1477. Girolamo Riario had carefully selected the furnishings to demonstrate not only his wealth and status as vicar of Imola, but also an appropriate level of respect for his bride. They certainly impressed Caterina's chaperone. Gianluigi Bossi. who included a detailed description of the scene in a letter to Bona of Savoy so that the court of Milan would understand the honorable reception of their daughter. As he walked through the reception room, the courtier observed the colors and textures of the abundant textiles and made note of the origin and designs of the silver, which Girolamo had inherited from his brother Pietro Riario, who died unexpectedly in 1474. Pietro had been an extravagant patron and collector, and his silver was a material and political legacy that linked one favored papal nephew to another. The silver inheritance included twenty-seven large basins *(bacilli),* several of which were gilt; seventeen plates *(piatti*) of various sizes; twelve large cups *(tazze)* with gilt interiors and celebration scenes *(feste)* in relief; two ewers (*stagnati*); two gilt tankards *(boccali):* two gilt cups with pebbled surfaces and lids and handles (*coppe a borchiarda*); three gilt sweetmeat boxes (*confetieri*); and one small gilt inkstand.[2] The collection, impressive by Roman standards, glittered in Imola and was meant to dazzle Caterina. the townspeople, and the other participants in the provinces with its value and provenance.

The level of embellishment in the reception room had deep social ramifications. The silver-laden credenza, framed by the textiles, was clearly the focal point of the reception, much like the credenza in

Giulio Romano's *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche,* 1532–34, from the Palazzo del Té in Mantua (Illustration 3.1). It remained undisturbed during the banquet so guests would have ample opportunity to admire its riches while they ate from another set of equally impressive tableware. There was "a rich credenza well furnished with gold and silver for display only," a participant commented, "and other silver service at the tables such as square plates, large and small bowls, salt cellars, spoons, knives, cups, sweetmeat boxes, and frait bowls."[3] The contemporary descriptions, although brief, give a sense of how nobles and courtiers paid careful attention to the diversity and opulence of luxury objects. But this was more than just an expensive display. Its form—the credenza as showcase—attested to the Riario's social status. The financial ability to amass a silver-laden credenza was something only the elite could attain. Although functional credenzas, or sideboards, full of plates and dishes for table service, became common in the Early Modern period, the ceremonial credenza. when staged within an official reception room and filled with silver, was the exclusive prerogative of the nobility.[4] While this social exclusivity fully developed after the fifteenth century, the ceremonial credenza already suggested similar social implications at the time of Caterina's wedding journey.

The glittering Riario credenza in Imola embodied the Renaissance concept of splendor, so essential to the princely lifestyle and an important sign of status for all members of the elite. Splendor concerned the use and display of high quality material objects appropriate to one's rank. Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza were acutely aware of the importance of appearances—Chapters 1 and 2 explored the intimate relationship between appearances and politics in courtly rituals and ceremonies and architectural projects. This chapter turns toward the construction of a splendid lifestyle within the domestic sphere. Caterina was certainly concerned with appearances in the interior spaces of the Riario court during her marriage and subsequent regency. As Jacopo Foresti noted in his biography of Caterina: "This woman is most desirous of honor and glory that whenever there is a matter of giving honor to another, she is the most liberal with her monies, nor would she want to endure someone better than her in the splendor of her rank."[5] Foresti rightly cast splendor alongside honor, glory, and liberality: splendor served as the material indicator of those inner virtues. He further implied that a splendid environment demonstrated not only one's own status, but also respect for others. Foresti included this phrase in his short account of

Caterina's life to ensure that his readers understood her adherence to the material requirements of her position. Indeed, there are numerous records of Caterina's on-going concern with the cultivation of splendor, from inventories of luxurious goods and ambassadorial descriptions of her clothing and jewels, to letters that reveal her frustrations in maintaining "the splendor of her rank." These documents tell of the exquisite and everyday items collected in the Renaissance, and demonstrate how Caterina Sforza achieved the virtue of splendor and maintained courtly appearances throughout her life.

3.2 Silver-gilt salt cellar, Italy, *c.* 1530

Princely Presentation and the Virtue of *Splendore*

Early Modern theories of princely display and self-fashioning speak to the importance of a splendid presentationforthe social elite. The Neopolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano devoted an entire book to the issue of splendor in his five-part *Treatises of Social Virtues,* and so provided a guide to the cultivation of personal glory and display within the Renaissance court during public ceremonies as well as in the minute ephemera of domestic existence. While nobles could best achieve magnificence through expensive commissions of architecture,

works of lasting public benefit, and grand spectacles, splendor, as defined by Pontano, was "interested above all in private things and does not neglect a thing if it is of brief duration or small" and particularly pertained to "that which is brilliant *(risplende),* particularly in the ornament of the house, the care of the person, the furnishing and arrangement of various things." Pontano described in great detail the appropriate expenditures on high quality furnishings, festivities, and food within the princely household "without which it is not possible to live in a fitting manner."[6] These expenses should be suitable to one's station—to spend too much would be excessive, to spend too little would be stingy. One of his most telling examples was for a table knife: that of a splendid man should be well-designed and skillfully crafted of "noble" material, meaning silver or perhaps gold. Guests at meals would note the style and substance of such cutlery and other table accessories, assess their quality, and, ideally, make a positive judgment about their owner (Illustration 3.2).

The success of the display and use of luxurious items was linked to the way contemporaries thought about their symbolic value. In Pontano's words, "the sight of these things is pleasant and brings prestige to the owner of the house as long as many people are able to frequent the house and admire them."[7] Everyone involved needed to understand the significance of such details as materials, design, embellishment, and cost. Ambassadors often reported the details of a prince's residence and their reception within it, and interpreted situations based upon the dress and comportment of rulers and their entourages. This is how humanists and elites justified their excessive spending on dress, jewels, household goods, and food: a splendid court sumptuously embellished with fine objects reflected the dignity and power of the owner. As Niccolò Machiavelli admonished in *The Prince,* "you cannot neglect any kind of lavishness."[8] A splendid display was crucial to good public relations. Liberal spending on expensive goods, Machiavelli wrote, affected a man's reputation and political standing. Nobles, he concluded, must harness the power of appearances to construct, maintain, and nuance their positions. And so, in the pursuit of splendor, nobles, rulers, and ambitious merchants avidly collected and displayed expensive and well-made tapestries, silver, antique and modern sculpture, gems, clothing, jewels, paintings, and ceramics.

In modern scholarship these items often fall into two separate categories, the decorative or "minor" arts and the seemingly more prestigious fine arts, but in the Renaissance court, they all worked together to create a splendid atmosphere. In fact, Pontano placed

many art forms into a single group: "we call objects ornamental if we acquire them as much for use as for embellishment and splendor, such as statues, panel paintings, tapestries, benches, seats inlaid with ivory, cloth woven with gemstones, boxes and chests painted with arabesques, crystal vases and other such things with which one adorns one's houses according to the circumstances."[9] Often the cost of an item affects its cultural value, and it is worth noting that luxurious objects that have since been sequestered to the category of "decorative arts," such as silver or tapestries, at the time were typically more expensive than most paintings and many sculptures, and were just as important to self-fashioning. Overall, their costs began to decrease in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as artisans developed new production techniques and materials that eventually made decorative objects more affordable and available to a broader array of collectors. These innovations are a hallmark of Renaissance culture, but the relative ease of acquiring those types of objects—their lowered exclusivity—has contributed to our modern perception that they are in general somehow less important in the hierarchy of the arts. Historically, splendor was all-encompassing in the domestic sphere, and any and every object could signify its owner's social status and familiarity with culture both ancient and contemporary. Luckily several recent exhibitions of objects and images from Early Modern Italy have amply demonstrated the importance of material culture and have encouraged us to shift our perceptions regarding the value of the various arts.[10]

Although many of these material objects embellished the domestic interior, splendor was not "private" in the modern sense of the word. The elite Early Modern household was more a semi-public space accessible not only to the owner's extended family, courtiers, and staff, but to honored guests and ambassadors as well. The public nature of the domestic interior was an ancient concept, revisited by Renaissance humanists to justify grand expenses. Aristotle wrote of it in the *Ethics*. translated into Latin in 1416–17: "A magnificent man will also furnish his house suitably to his wealth (for even a house is a sort of public ornament), and will spend what is becoming."[11] Pontano echoed the sentiment in his own treatise, "a magnificent man must have palaces in the city and villas, constructed and decorated according to his condition; these constitute an ornament to the city."[12] Members of the princely courts, in Stephen Greenblatt's words, "were nearly always on a stage." whether in public or at home.[13] Constantly and consciously on display, nobles cultivated a splendid self and environment no

matter where they were. Their material goods, even something as small as a finely embroidered handkerchief, consistently reflected their social position and good character. Situated within this courtly setting, the body became a portable and mutable vehicle for the iconographic display of self and family—the person was a construction, a dynamic mix of significant fabrics, jewels, gestures, and behaviors all chosen with societal standards in mind. Rich clothing, encrusted with jewels and precious metals, bespoke riches, power, and entitlement. Adorned with an elaborate costume, tempered with courtly mannerisms, and set against the equally manipulated backdrop of entourage and embellished physical space, the person was as much an actor on a stage in an elaborate theatrical production as an everyday individual.

Both Machiavelli and Pontano assumed that a serious collector would be a male ruler or head of household, and this was most often the case. Pontano did at least admire the cultural activities of a few ancient and contemporary women, such as Artemisia of Halicarnassus. Semiramide of Assyria, and Eleonora of Aragon. In general, women, their bodies adorned with fine clothing and jewels, were an integral part of display culture. Pontano explained that "it's not just the house, but every person who lives in it that reveals the exquisite splendor of the head of the house ... shown in the elegance and beauty of the women."[14] As wives, women controlled some aspects of domestic display, especially the appointment of their own rooms. A select group of elite women, and especially those who became regents or rulers, like Caterina Sforza. assumed the prerogative of constructing their personal and familial splendor. Such a woman usually needed to coordinate her material efforts with her husband's demonstration of long-standing splendor through dress, household furnishings, entourage, and festivities. If she were widowed and/or became a ruler-regent, she could act more independently. Nevertheless, amassing a splendid array of household goods was usually a group effort. Items could be individually purchased, but they also could be inherited, gifted, or borrowed from other family members or alliances. The numerous wedding gifts Caterina and her husband received from other noble and ruling families in Italy and Europe, along with the inheritance from Pietro Riario, provided a good start in their quest for splendor. Expensive tableware of silver and bronze, wall-hangings such as tapestries or door coverings *(portieri*), carpets, finely crafted religious accessories, and paintings and sculpture were all necessary items in the Italian Renaissance court, and the Riario owned plenty of

them.

Splendor on Display: The Trappings of Ceremony

The ceremonies associated with the betrothal and wedding of Caterina Sforza and Girolamo Riario were outstandingly lavish. An abundance of expensive and carefully selected objects and items articulated the couple's status in a world where grandiose presentation signified power and prestige. Engagements and weddings in the Early Modern period, as now, were opportunities for opulent displays meant to celebrate the new couple and their families. Relatives, allies, and guests understood this and their gifts affirmed their support of the couple. The detailed accounts of the Riario-Sforza nuptials underscore just how important dress, jewels and other decorative arts were within princely culture, especially during ceremonial events like these. The many items involved were spectacular in appearance and very valuable, and they represented the riches, and therefore the status, of the family.

Upon their betrothal. Girolamo presented Caterina with gifts—clothing and jewels—that showed his respect for her and her family and also marked her as his bride. While dress was important for both sexes, a woman's costume typically reflected her father's or her husband's status, and not her own individuality, especially when she was young.[15] Galeazzo Maria Sforza had been responsible for Caterina's clothing throughout her childhood. Once she married, this duty would pass to Girolamo. and her body and its adornments would become a totem for his prestige. As the Venetian humanist Francesco Barbara noted in his early fifteenth-century treatise *On Wifely Duties,* "We ought to follow the custom that our wives adorn themselves with gold, jewels, and pearls, if we can afford it. For such adornments are the sign of a wealthy ... woman and are taken as evidence of the wealth of the husband."[16] At the engagement, Girolamo partook in the custom of offering gifts to his fiancé as a type of counter-dowry to demonstrate his ability and willingness to care for his bride and maintain, if not advance, her social status through her adornment. Each item was carefully inventoried in case the engagement dissolved and the expensive gifts needed to be returned.[17] Caterina received four gowns: two dresses *(camorra),* one of gold brocade on satin the

other of green satin and silver brocade, each with a coordinating pair of detachable brocade sleeves; and two complete gowns (*veste*), one of crimson satin with gold brocade and another of green velvet.[18] The red gown was specifically *cremosino*, meaning that it had been made with the highest quality red dyestuff, and so its color, as well as the gold brocading, attested to its value. The red and green gowns between them featured 1,538 large and 1,380 small pearls embroidered onto the fabric and two very large pearls, one weighing an ounce and the other a quarter ounce, both of which probably served as centerpieces on the bodices. A purse trimmed with gold and five fabric girdles (*corregie*) of various colors and finished with silver closures completed the ensembles (Illustration 3.3). The sumptuous nature of the gifts expressed Girolamo's status as well as his care and devotion to Caterina.

3.3 Gold brocade, gilt metal with enamel and nielloed silver girdle, Italy, 15th century, an example to suggest the appearance of Caterina's girdles

Caterina's engagement jewels were more abundant than the clothing, and the numerous diamonds, emeralds, rubies, spinels *(balassi,* vermillion red jewels), sapphires, turquoise, and pearls came

both loose and mounted.[19] There were several long strands of large pearls, a gold ring set with a large pearl, and two tiaras (*didale*), one with two large diamonds and the other with a sapphire and a spinel. The jewel that displayed the most creativity in its setting took the form of a peasant (*villano*). A large pearl formed the man's head, and his body featured three more large pearls, four diamonds, nine rubies. one emerald, and two turquoises. In addition, the figure bore a cross decorated with three small diamonds. The same variety of jewels appears in another piece that featured a red spinel with two diamonds in the middle, four large pearls, a round emerald, a large diamond cut *in puncte* (a double pyramid), and a pear-shaped pearl that dangled as a pendant. Finally, there were two gold crosses, each with a flat-cut (*tavola*) diamond in the middle and four rubies, all encircled by seven pearls: the two may have formed a pair, perhaps a set of earrings or clothing ornaments for the chest or shoulders. Although the scribe failed to note the actual value of the gifts, something often recorded in official exchanges of gifts at betrothals, the dresses and jewels seem to have been of the highest quality and were made with the most fashionable techniques of late fifteenth-century Italy.

Four years later, when Caterina was ready to marry Girolaino, she took special care with her appearance during the extended wedding ceremonies to reflect her elite status as daughter of Milan, bride of the Riario, and mistress of Imola. She apparently did not wear the dresses Girolamo had given her in 1473—she had probably grown so much that they no longer fitted her and they were either passed along to another girl in the Milanese court, or more likely, because of their lavishness, refashioned into another garment or sold. Her new outfits were similar in status to the gifted dresses. For her entry into Imola in May 1477, she donned a glittering "dress of gold brocade on black with a short black silk satin mantle and black silk sleeves decorated with some pearls at the neck."[20] A few weeks later, when Girolamo and his men first greeted Caterina outside of Rome, he continued the gift-giving that had begun four years earlier with "a chain of pearls with a pendant of small jewels, worth about 5,000 ducats."[21] The next day, when she entered Rome for the marriage ceremony, she wore a "short mantle of gold brocade on black damask and a dress of crimson satin silk with sleeves of black brocade and plenty of jewels." including the pearls Girolamo had just given her.[22] These garments were fashioned in the most expensive fabrics—gold brocade and crimson cloth—and reflected the importance of the event and the status of its participants. At the end of the wedding ceremony. Pope

Sixtus IV replaced that new string of pearls with another chain "full of impressive jewels valued at 4,000 gold ducats."[23] He then spoke about how Caterina was now part of the larger della Rovere and Riario family. The expensive gift was the material manifestation of the Pope's blessing of the marriage: the necklace marked her as Riario bride and papal niece. Two other observers appraised the necklace at 3,000 and 2,500 ducats, the different estimates demonstrating the eagerness of the participants to assess the gifts.[24]

The material splendor on display during the entrances and wedding ceremonies involved more than the dress of just the central figures. It extended to the clothing and comportment of members of the Sforza and Riario entourages as well as the wedding guests and performers. In Imola, the many local noblewomen who attended to Caterina were all dressed intheirfinest and were "on theirbest behavior" *(di ban costume et optima maynera*), according to Gianluigi Bossi's account, and the townspeople in general were "well-dressed" (*ben vestiti).*[25] Her reception in Rome was similarly populated with well-groomed local lords and ladies: when Caterina reached her nuptial home for her wedding dinner, she was greeted by no less than eighty Roman women "most well in order" (*benissimo in ordine),* words that refer to their meticulous appearance as well as their organization by rank.[26] Girolamo saw to it that his company and troops in Rome were all dressed in his household livery: the higher-ranking "company of familiars" sported "long, open, sleeveless overcloaks of black velvet and sleeves of shimmering black silk." while the troops wore "overgowns with sleeves of deep blue velvet and bi-colored stockings."[27] He also coordinated the performer's outfits during the festivities after the wedding. For instance, six couples presenting a Moorish dance dressed in exotic costumes. The men wore *giuparelli di gitanino,* or long satin cloaks, in iridescent silk that shimmered between green and turquoise, and flesh-toned (*carne)* stockings; their costumes mimicked the style of clothing Caterina herself wore during the events. The women wore dresses of the "most subtle fabrics" (*tela sutilissima)*. scarlet stockings, and silver brocade sleeves done in the Roman fashion. Twelve boys and girls all sported smaller versions of the same outfits for the subsequent Florentine dance.[28]

Every opportunity for a splendid display needed to be exploited in order to achieve the appearance of magnificence. In his careful staging of the wedding festivities. Girolamo Riario seems almost to have followed Pontano's recommendations for the decor of a wedding: "Weddings are justly held in great account and in the celebration it is

necessary to use a particular level of splendor, a particular level of magnificence." The individual details created splendor; the overall effect was magnificence. In fact, Pontano, in his description of a model magnificent wedding, that of Ippolita Maria Sforza and Alfonso of Aragon, concentrated on the material components: the area for the guests "was covered in purple and silk, some of which was embroidered; there were horse races, and the clothing of the men and the horses was more luxurious; they offered ample and sumptuous banquets."[29] For his wedding. Girolamo planned similar adornments, a tournament, lavish feasts, and more. The streets between St. Peter's and the Palazzo Orsini, where the wedding dinner and other festivities took place, were draped with expensive fabrics. The palace itself was hung with tapestries and other textiles, and a portion of Girolamo's silver treasury apparently remained in Rome (or had been quickly returned foin Imola) for exhibition on a credenza. Caterina's Milanese chaperones commented that the palace was so well appointed that it resembled an "earthly paradise" *(paradiso terrestre)* and reported the high value of the copious display of silver that constituted only a part of Girolamo's "grand treasury" *(uno grante thesoro)*.[30] As in Imola. the credenza and the surrounding tapestries brought lavish praise. Renaissance descriptions of splendid arrays such as these often feature this type of exaggerated language that highlights abundance and makes allusion to the celestial realm in order to fully capture the luxuriousness of the scene.[31]

Comestibles clearly contributed to the courtly splendor of the extended wedding ceremonies. When Caterina entered Imola. the festivities included "a most dignified and abundant lunch" (*una dignissima et abundante colatione)* and later the same day "a sumptuous dinner" *(una sumptuosa cena)*.[32] In fact Gianluigi Bossi commented, all "the meals until now have been most festive for their variety and delicacy of the food, also for their abundance: many, many people eat every day at the palazzo."[33] The food was even more extravagant in Rome, where there was a broader array of choices and more whimsical presentations. The wedding feast consisted of twenty-two courses, beginning with sweetmeats, a popular Renaissance confection of candied nuts or fruits. At the height of the banquet, servants carried in platters of cooked meats, composed to appear as if the animals, some real, some fantastic, were still in their skins. When everyone had finished eating, servants cleared off the tables and brought out the gifts, worth 12,000 ducats according to the Bishop of Parma's estimate.[34] The gifts added to the already splendid enviromnent and,

together with the draperies, clothing, food, and the tournament the next day, created a magnificent whole.

Careful inspection of the gifts given to Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza reveals complex networks of political allegiance. Popular among nobles and the wealthy merchant class, gifting was fundamental to the practice of diplomacy and the exchange of favors. The status of the giver, and the cost, uniqueness, and appropriateness of the gift all factored into its diplomatic value, and a prominently placed coat of arms ensured that the giver would receive proper credit.[35] A close observer could have used the emblems to chart a map of the powerful nobles across Europe who honored the new couple. Hundreds of silver objects that carry the heraldry of other families appear in a 1490 inventory of the Riario court, and these likely constitute the gifts the couple received, if not at the wedding, then perhaps sometime thereafter. The givers might have added their coats of arms to newly commissioned pieces to identify themselves, and it also is possible that at least some of the works might have been selected from family collections and "re-gifted." The basins, ewers, tankards, flasks, plates, sweetmeat boxes, salt cellars, pomanders, and cups, whether for practical use or only for show, were all meant to glimmer and sparkle. Each was expensively worked and many were embellished with gilding, jewels, and designs in relief, enamel, and niello (incised lines filled with black alloys). The inventory included some small, but precious items: a niello pomander, an open-work ball that allowed perfume to disseminate from a scented cloth inside, carried the coat of arms of King Ferdinand of Naples; a small gilt cup sported those of the Colonna family of Rome; two sweetmeat boxes had emblems tying them to a king and a bishop; and two chalcedony salt cellars worked with silver had both Girolamo's and Caterina's insignias placed beside those of a now unknown bishop. Other pieces listed in the inventory were larger, such as several basins, some with gilding, reliefs, and spooned-out designs (*achuchiari*). These basins had the coat of amis of the Savelli and Pazzi families, the Cardinal of Aragon an unnamed bishop, the cities Rome. Siena, and Naples, and several other unidentifiable sources. Not all the items were destined for a credenza or table service: small bronze objects (*bronzetti*) of different designs, ornamented with the coats of arms of the Duke of Milan, the Marchese of Mantua, the noble Roman Orsini and Savelli families, and others, were perhaps meant for a smaller-scale display. Still more silver objects carried the arms of members of Girolamo's extended family, such as the many pieces with Pietro Riario's arms,

described at the start of this chapter, and two flasks and a sweetmeat box. along with five tapestries of religious imagery, each with Raffaele Riario's emblems.[36] The presence of family devices ensured that both the expense and beauty of the item would not be misattributed, and more importantly, confirmed the social and political alliances amongst nobles, prelates, and communities. Even if Girolamo had purchased some of the objects second-hand, a common practice among the elite, the coats of arms, kept intact, would still have suggested an alliance or affinity with the families that originally owned the pieces.

The Riario's expedition to the Romagna in 1481, and later in 1483, required a vast array of courtiers and material goods to make the right impression beyond the show of the triumphal entry. Numerous carriages filled with goods arrived in Forlì a few days before the family, building anticipation for the ruler's visit. The family brought these important items from their Roman household with them on their travels in the Romagna, and so carried the splendor of the capital to the provinces. On the day of Girolamo's triumphal entry into Forlì in 1481, the seigniorial palace featured "a silver credenza that weighed 3,000 pounds set up in the little room and a large basin of gold and a large ewer of gold and six cups that weighed five pounds each one of gold and another embellished with gold, pearls and silk." The anonymous observer concluded that "it seemed like paradise to see and contemplate such things."[37] The room, and by extension the Riario court, appeared heavenly, and its ruler, therefore, seemed akin to a god. While this is diplomatic rhetoric, in tune with the other descriptions of Riario credenzas. the account nonetheless demonstrates the proper, measured response to the formidable collection. While this temporary display was certainly awesome, still more luxurious goods furnished the princely residences and met the every day needs of the family. No less than twenty carriages full of such items as "tapestries and other furnishings" (*tapezarie et altri fornimenti de casa)* preceded the family on their way back to Rome, to be set up in the Palazzo Riario to welcome the family home.[38] The items were indispensable as furnishings, displayed for family and allies within the household. To the general public, the long line of carriages, each bursting with objects and textiles, testified to the splendor of the Riario throughout the journey.

3.4 Melozzo da Forlì, detail of the fresco in the Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario (now Palazzo Altemps), Rome

In the Palazzo Riario in Rome, art imitated life with the Active credenza that was the focus of the expansive illusionistic fresco program in a main room, or *Sala dei Notabili*, on the *piano noble* (Illustrations 2.7 and 3.4). Backed by a lush green *a verdura* tapestry, the stepped structure supports silver basins, plates, bowls, ewers, tankards, flasks, cups, candlesticks, and napkins, all upon an embroidered tablecloth. As in the actual ceremonial credenzas, described in the accounts of the wedding, the basins even carry the Riario emblem, a rose. This painted version stood as a surrogate treasury for the abundant silver and reminded viewers of the pageantry of the Riario triumphs in Imola and Rome. The fresco appeared in one of the palace's large, multi-purpose rooms where the

family received guests and entertained them with music and food. During a meal, when some of the real silver was in use. guests could compare the actual pieces to the painted versions, a spark to conversation not just about the splendor of the Riario family, but also about the nature of art and its new advances in naturalism.

Staging the Domestic Realm

The accoutrements of special events like entrances and weddings established the right tone of elite privilege through their very lavishness, and some of this rich display extended into daily life within the princely household.[39] The residence provided a stable backdrop for this presentation of riches. The sophistication of its quotidian decorations reflected the glory of the owner, as did the special decorations mounted during ceremonial occasions. Noble families stored much of their treasury under lock and key, but certain goods circulated within the household to accommodate its regular activities and provide a suitably decorative environment. Most of the practical and decorative items used within princely homes do not survive. Objects fashioned in metal could be melted down for other uses; ceramic plates, textiles, and tapestries could wear out; all could be sold, pawned, and refashioned. The relative lack of extant objects has certainly hindered the study of domestic interiors, and though ambassadors and chroniclers often reported on special events and receptions, they less frequently addressed the day-to-day furnishings of a palace. Luckily many households periodically conducted inventories, whether of select pieces destined for storage or the pawn shop, or of the entire contents of the house, and those records are often quite detailed in their descriptions.

Even without the object or image in hand, these textual sources allow one to gain a sense of what was on display in the princely home. There are a number of inventories filed away with Caterina Sforza's papers in the Florentine State Archives, and one compiled in 1490 provides much information on the everyday splendor of the Riario court from its early years—its height—to the beginning of Caterina's regency; the same document describes what were probably some of the couple's many wedding gifts.[40] Like those gifts, most of the items listed were exquisite and expensive. Their value was important: the inventory records the goods that Caterina consigned to her castellan at

Imola, who then probably sold them or sent them off to serve as collateral for loan. Therefore, the inventory is not full accounting of all the household objects; it lists only items that were chosen for their potential to command a good price. The pieces were only a portion of the Riario goods, and similar items must have remained in use in the home. The detailed descriptions, taken down so that each piece could be readily identified and valued, convey a sense of the vast variety of the colors, textures, shapes, sizes, decorative motifs, and fabrications of these luxurious items. Variety was fundamental to splendor: a prince certainly needed an abundance of high quality goods, but they all needed to be different, distinguishable from one another, to demonstrate the singularity of the home and its owner. As Pontano asserted. "It merits much praise when in the number and rarity of furnishings ... one also sees a variety of styles and materials in a series of objects of the same type."[41]

Silver Goods and Table Service

The abundance of Riario silver spoke to the wealth as well as the social and political prominence of the family. The most striking component of the collection was probably the group of fifty-three large basins (*bacilli*). which might have been placed on a household credenza on special occasions, as in the entrance and wedding ceremonies. If displayed in the *Sala dei Notabili* in the Palazzo Riario, the real silver offered evidence of what the illusionistic frescoes represented. Seventeen of the basins were fashioned in smooth silver and some of those were gilt. Many of the other thirty-six basins were also gilt and featured spoon-like indentations (*achuchiari*) that formed distinct compartments for further decorations around the rim. typically animals, floral motifs, family *stemme*, studding *(borchie),* and other designs in relief, niello, or enamel. All but a few displayed coats of arms in the center of the basin: about one-quarter of the emblems were Girolamo's. one-half his brother Pietro's. and the final quarter those of family alliances.[42] These large and complexly decorated items with their family crests were probably "for display only," as suggested in the account of the wedding, and not for table service; to have filled them would have masked their grandeur (Illustration 3.5).

Other silver items were fancy enough for display, but their practical applications would not have hidden their glory. There were

thirty-four silver plates, large and small; eleven of these were specifically for salads, a course composed of salted meats and fish dressed with oil and vinegar that first gained popularity in Italy in the fifteenth century.[43] Most of the plates carried Pietro Riario's arms, and were part of the inheritance he left his brother. Two large fruit bowls featured covers crowned with Girolamo's arms.[44] Guests could sample sweetmeats from any one of thirty-eight boxes (*confetiere*) specifically made to house them. They came in various sizes, some gilt, and most presented designs such as hunting scenes, a chimera (a mythical beast), or a checkerboard pattern in relief, niello, or enamel.[45] The number of these boxes and their high level of decoration suggest that some of them might have been displayed throughout the home and not just on the dining table during meals. The same might have been the case for some of the twenty-three salt cellars (*salt* or *salinini)*. One took the form of a lion, and its classification in the inventory— "a silver lion that serves as a salt cellar" (*lionne d'argento che serve per saline)*—suggests that its functional aspect became clear only upon close inspection. Eight other salt cellars were carved in chalcedony and trimmed with silver fittings, and one of these was further embellished with ten pearls and four jewels. Fourteen more were small and designed in pairs with gilt and enamel decoration of various designs; several of these had coordinating spoons.[46] The salt cellars would have allowed everyone at table easy and abundant access to this essential but still relatively precious seasoning, and as they helped themselves, they could admire the beauty and ingenuity of its container. Six large gilt candlesticks *(6 Candelieri grandi da tavola dorati)* would have held the candles to illuminate the meals and cause the various objects to glisten in their flickering light.[47]

3.5 Silver-gilt ewer and basin. Venice, *c.* 1580, two pieces that suggest how items in the Riario collections might have appeared

The table was further embellished with silver to facilitate eating and drinking.[48] Twenty-five jugs or ewers, two flasks, thirty-four tankards (*boccalli*). and a covered carafe all accommodated beverages and at the same time displayed the wealth of the family. Two of the ewers were very large, in gilt silver with double handles. The other vessels came in various sizes, some gilt and with coats of arms. For drinking, there were thirty large footed cups (*coppe*). some with covers or handles, most of them gilt silver, but one in chalcedony carved with reliefs. A coat of arms either appeared at the bottom of the cup's bowl, or on the cover, if one was included. A number of the cups were covered with a pebbly pattern of studs (*borchiata*) or the same spooned-out indentations (*achuchiari*) as described on the basins. Enamels and incised decoration featured figures of men and saints, lions, serpents, a crown, as well as stories in small vignettes framed by the cups' designs. The handles, if present, were of varied designs, one on the chalcedony cup was described as "fashionable" (*a modo),* another as "like a fishnet" (*a modo spigollo),* perhaps meaning the handles were composed of woven silver threads.[49] There were also

fifty-nine tumblers (*tazze*). some smooth, some *achuchiari*. some gilt. Twelve of these formed a set. each tumbler featuring a different apostle. Six more silver cups (*bechieri* or *bicchieri)* added to the options for drinking, one gilt "with a cover and three lions to form the foot, and a festive scene done in relief around it with blue enamel roses." the Riario device and color.[50] To facilitate serving and eating, there were seven carving knives; sixteen knives with silver and gold handles; fifty-five forks, five of which were large with a castle at the top of each handle, the remainder small and decorated with jade; and ten spoons, four with handles composed of silver filigree. Two more spoons might have been too exquisite to use anytime but the finest occasions: they were made of gold and crystal with enamel decoration.[51]

Thirty-seven *scudelle* and thirty-four *scudellini*—large and small bowls—added to the glittering display,[52] Listed with the rest of the silver, they too were probably made of silver. They do not seem to have been for table service, though, since most featured gold frames, six of which were encircled by inscriptions. The scribe did not indicate just what those bowls depicted, if anything, but it is likely that they carried some sort of engraved floral or vegetal design and perhaps the Riario arms and devices. Girolamo had mounted stone coats of arms on the ceilings of some rooms on the ground floor of the Palazzo Riario in Rome, and these inventoried metal objects might have been similar, but portable, examples of the same. The precious *scudelle* were probably displayed on the walls of the palace or stacked on a credenza. Immediately following them in the inventory are fifty-three "round pictures" (*quadri tondi),* surely hung on the walls.[53] Unfortunately, these images feature some of the least descriptive entries in the inventory. As with the *scudelle,* no indication is given about their materials or iconography. The lack of descriptive information for both of these groups of objects implies that they depicted commonplace imagery, not worthy enough to note, and no fancy components beyond the gold frames. Similar items appear in an undated inventory, probably from the 1490s: sixteen large plates (*targoni)* and thirty crests (*retalli*) all painted with the Riario colors and devices (*divisa della casa)*.[54] All were part of the necessary heraldry displayed throughout the court.

3.6 Chalcedony glass *tazza* (cup) with Riario-Sforza coat of arms, Venice, *c*. 1470s

Other decorative items fashioned in silver from the 1490 inventory would have appeared throughout the palace. Caterina could have checked her toilette in a large mirror with a lamp on one side and a festive scene of ladies and *putti* on the other. Or, she could have peered into a footed, round mirror that featured the coat of arms of a bishop, with images of Christ and other figures on the back in relief and enamel and its own black leather cover. A silver box, perhaps set on a table in a *camera*, contained several precious items: a cross with fifty pearls and twelve jewels, a second, smaller cross with seven pearls and four jewels, two crystal spoons with gold and enamel work, and a small mirror backed with an image of the Madonna surrounded by ten pearls and ten different jewels. A small square silver inkstand with Pietro Riario's arms on the top and bottom would have been an essential element for a writing desk, and a box with a piece of red coral, a good luck charm to ward off evil, might have been placed nearby.[55] Servants could have tended to the hearth with a pair of fire tongs and a bellows, both in silver.

Splendid items that promoted the family's social and political presence through good design and heraldry were not always as precious as the spectacular silver. A few surviving and undocumented dishes from the Riario court exemplify a more quotidian splendor. A small glass footed bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, features the quartered Riario-Sforza arms painted in its the

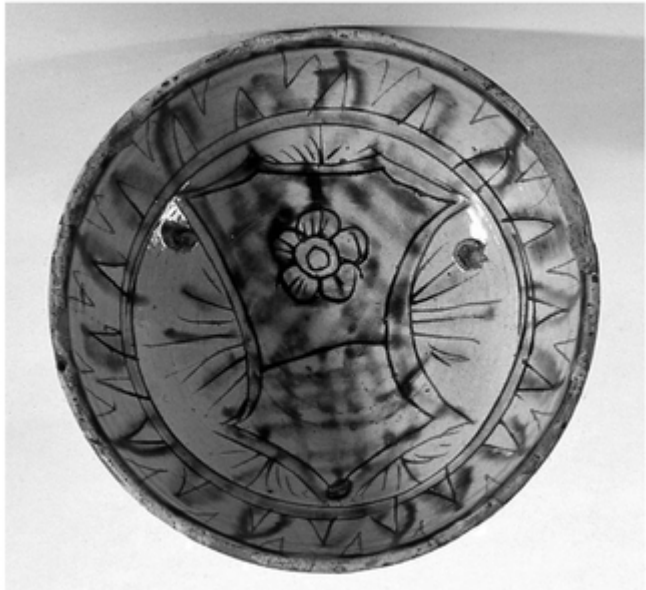
center (Illustration 3.6). The upper portion of the bowl is clear glass decorated with a gilt acanthus leaf pattern. This contrasts with the bowl's base and foot, which are fashioned with a variety of translucent colors swirled together, a pattern that became known as chalcedony glass. There were several salt cellars and cups of actual chalcedony in the Riario inventories, and this dish was made of colored glass blended together to mimic the milky veining of the exotic semi-precious stone. In the fifteenth century, artisans on the Venetian island of Murano developed this technique, and others, that allowed them to imitate expensive and ancient materials. While products made with these new techniques were easier to produce, less costly, and accessible to a broader group of consumers, they were nonetheless prized—and well-displayed—because they demonstrated modern ingenuity and might even fool the eye of the uninitiated.[56] The Riario-Sforza dish was probably produced in Venice, the center of innovative glass production, and it might have been a wedding or diplomatic gift. The couple made a state visit to the Venetian Republic in 1481 and they might have purchased or received it then. The quartered arms are actually Caterina's married *stemma,* so the dish might have been made exclusively for her, whether on her commission or as a gift.

Other extant examples of basic tableware, a ceramic plate and three small bowls, carry slightly different versions of the Riario arms (Illustrations 3.7 and 3.8).[57] Most likely of local. Imolese production the terra-cotta pieces are examples of traditional Romagnole graffiti-ware: the pottery was coated with a cream-colored slip (liquid clay) and the outlines of designs were incised into this layer to expose the reddish-brown clay body underneath. The outlined motifs were then filled in with green, brown, and yellow pigments, and a clear overglaze sealed the work. The Riario pieces were excavated in 1925 from the well of the Casa Poggi in Imola. a house nearby to some of the subsidiary Riario residences off Imola's main piazza. The plates might have been part of the Riario table service, or they might have been given to loyal noble and merchant families as a sign of seigniorial favor.[58] The pieces could have simply fallen down the well by accident (the excavation yielded several other Renaissance-era ceramics), but it is also possible that they were thrown down the well during one of the coups against the Riario, the owners anxious to discard any physical evidence of their association with the family. In any case, on these Girolamo's arms appear alone, and not quartered with Caterina's. Because of this, the pieces were probably not linked specifically with the couple's wedding, and instead might have

celebrated the Riario vicariate in general. While all of the pieces share the same materials, the details of the subsidiary floral and geometric decorations are diverse, an indication of the artisans' attempt at variety in their execution.

The silver and other glass and ceramic goods are a sample of what might have been used in the Riario household, and they were supplemented by less glamorous pieces, presumably for use in the kitchen or for the servants. They merit less description in the inventory because of their relatively low value and visual interest. Many of these objects are tin replicas of the silver originals and lack gilding, reliefs, enamels, and jewels. In addition, the inventory describes

3.7 Ceramic bowl with the Riario coat of arms, *c.* 1474–84



3.8 Ceramic bowl with the Riario coat of arms, *c.* 1474–84

numerous basins, plates, salt cellars, candlesticks, fifty-three octagonal spoons, knives, and more as broken or used. Nothing seems to survive of this fine silver and worn-out tin ware. Virtually all of the inventoried goods were pawned or sold, or, if they remained in Caterina's care throughout her life, disappeared in the centuries after her death.

Fine Textiles

Fine textiles were essential to the embellishment of the princely home in the Early Modern era, and Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza amassed a significant collection of luxurious tapestries, wall-hangings, door curtains, carpets, bed covers, and cushions. So abundant that they could be changed with the seasons, the textiles attested to the family's riches. The tapestries in particular spoke to the ways humanist ideals penetrated the fabric (so to speak) of everyday life. The 1490 inventory documents seventeen chests full of exquisite textiles; half of them contained tapestries.[59] Typically much more expensive than paintings and sculpture, tapestries were high status objects and thus very desirable for display within the princely home. Until the sixteenth century, specialized artisans produced the majority of

tapestries in Flanders and the expenses of shipping and duties added to the already high costs of labor for the intricate weaving process and materials, which included gold and silver thread.[60] The beautifully crafted tapestries provided decoration, but they had practical functions as well. Like other fabric or leather wall-hangings, they offered a layer of insulation within cold rooms, prevented drafts, and gave privacy when hung in doorways. In the 1490 inventory, most of the tapestries, along with the various wall-hangings of other fabrication, are qualified as large, small, "for a bed chamber" *(per una camera),* "spalliera," or "portiera." The ones described by size alone were perhaps hung in the most public spaces of the home, as opposed to those specified for a bedroom. The designations *spalliera* and *portiera* speak to where the textiles were hung, and also suggest their size and orientation. For instance, a *spalliera* would have been mounted at shoulder-height above wainscoting, and therefore it would often have a horizontal orientation; a *portiera* was a door-covering, and so had a vertical orientation.

The Riario tapestries (*aratia* or *arazo)* fall into two basic categories: *a vedura,* a popular floral motif on a green background that resembled a spring garden, like the Active tapestry in the Roman Palazzo Riario fresco; or istoriated or *a figura*, containing scenes or figures. All told, fourteen of the tapestries were *a vedura,* but the vast majority displayed figures and stories, and many carried the coats of arms of the house. Some were grouped together in suites, others seem to have stood alone. Mythological scenes are well represented: a set of five tapestries depicted the loves of the gods and others featured stories of Jupiter and Argos. Diogenes and Alexander, and Sibilla and Ottaviano with the Virgin Mary. Quite a number of the subjects were difficult to determine at the time of the inventors: the scribe recorded these simply as featuring diverse figures or stories (*di diverse figure* or *di diverse istorie)*. Some of the tapestries are altar cloths, and they understandably display religious themes from the Old and New Testament: the Judgment of Solomon and the Annunciation, and multiple versions of both the Adoration of the Magi and the Crucifixion. There are more iconic-sounding images of Christ kneeling in front of God the Father and the Virgin, the Virgin with Saints, the Virgin with Saint James, Christ dressed in gold brocade with other figures, the twelve apostles, and Saint Sebastian.[61] The juxtaposition of images with mythological and Christian iconographies in the princely household shows how in everyday life the new humanist culture could be integrated with the traditions of the Church.

The other, non-tapestry, textiles were also luxurious. There were embroidered silk wall-hangings, including several sets of door curtains *(portiere*) fashioned in velvets and brocades. Some of these were in violet cloth lined with red linen, rose-colored fabric lined in green linen, or turquoise silk and crimson velvet lined with blue linen; all of these examples featured Girolamo's arms or other figural and floral motifs in embroidery.[62] The dining table, so beautifully laid with silver, would have been draped with fancy table cloths (*tovaglie)* and laid with napkins. The 1490 inventory lists dozens of napkins but only a few large table cloths, although another inventory from 1498 records many other table cloths in linen and other fabrics.[63] Carpets decorated the tables in the house as well. Of the twenty-nine carpets of various sizes, fourteen were designated for the table *(da tervola*), including two from Portugal; the rest were for the floor *(da tenere in terra).*[64] Seventy-two cushions padded the chairs and beds within the house. They came in a variety of fabrics, colors, and trims: blue, red, and white velvets and brocades or cloth of gold with silk fringes *(frangie*) and tassels *(fiochi*), all with contrasting colors and fabrics on the back; some had embroidery.[65] Down, wool, and cotton-filled mattresses on the beds were draped with fancy covers *(coperte da letto)* made in the same diversity of fabrications as the cushions. A total of forty-seven silk, velvet, and brocade bed covers appear in the 1490 inventory. All were lined with contrasting fabric and a number were insulated with stuffing *(piena di bambagia)* to protect against the damp chill of the Romagnole winter. The bedrooms were further embellished with fringed textiles in brocade and velvet genericalty referred to as "pieces of a room furnishing" *(pezzi di uno fornimento da camera),* perhaps canopies and other draperies hung from bedsteads.[66] Viewed together, the myriad of colors, textures, and trims of the various textiles would have delighted the eye and created a rich environment.

The Palace Chapel and Religious Paraphernalia

Judging from the liturgical items listed in the 1490 inventory, the Riario homes in Rome and, later, Forlì housed well-appointed family chapels, as would have befitted a papal nephew and vicar.[67] Three pairs of large silver candlesticks (*Candilieri d'altarre),* decorated with gilding, reliefs, and Riario emblems, illuminated the family's altar; a

silver gilt lamp carried seven more candles. A large silver chalice and its coordinating gilt paten and a silver filigree box to house consecrated hosts and "kerchiefs" *(fazie*, probably corporals) with the Riario arms on the top were essential to the administration of the Eucharist. Several vestments appeared in the inventory, including six chasubles in white, red, or green brocade or damask, some embroidered in gold thread with flowers and Girolamo's arms. Nine altar frontals, made of similar luxury fabrics with fringes and gilt embroideries of flowers, figures of the Madonna. Saint James and other saints, or a scene of the three Magi, dressed the altar. Four cushions with their own draperies facilitated kneeling during prayers.[68]

Panels and sculptures in silver representing religious subjects might have embellished the chapel or other rooms in the home. Expensively worked, these figures displayed gilding, enamelwork, and jewels, and they too carried the family's coat of arms.[69] There was a Visitation surrounded by *putti*; a small gilt model ship with an Annunciation in enamel; a square niello Pietà; an enameled Madonna and Child with figures on the reverse including God the Father and a Crucifixion scene surrounded by nineteen different jewels and twenty-nine small pearls; a gilt and enameled tondo of die Madonna, who wore a crown of three jewels and fifteen pearls, and, on the reverse, a Crucifixion scene; and two panels, both in enamel, one with a Crucifixion and the other a Nativity scene decorated with thirty-two pearls and sixteen jewels and a border of reliefs in niello. These comprise the most popular Christian scenes.

Several religious books from the 1490 inventory attest to more personal religious practices. These include basic texts for individual meditation and prayer: a missal with gilt miniatures covered with blue velvet with gilt closures; the epistles of Saint Jerome covered with red leather; a large breviary covered with violet leather; and a small Bible with a red leather cover. All were "on good paper" *(in bona carta)* and so distinguished from other writings in the inventory done on the finer, and more expensive, parchment or vellum.[70] Paper was becoming more common in Europe in the fifteenth century. a critical element to the emergence of print culture. The first printed books appeared in the 1460s on the Italian peninsula, but these Riario-Sforza texts were not among them: the scribe carefully noted that each was "hand-written in pen" *(a pena)*. The handwritten books were more exclusive than their printed counterparts, and Caterina kept others that appear in later inventories, for instance, a small Office of the

Virgin with illustrations on "cotton paper" (*carta bambasina)* covered with red leather. She also owned more precious religious manuscripts written on parchment (*carta pecora*). such as the Offices of Holy Week covered in blue velvet with gilt silver fittings.[71] Caterina kept the more precious (and essential) religious manuscripts, those with illustrations and fancy closures, for a longer period of time, and discarded those of slightly lower quality with the rest of the 1490 consignment.

All of these lavish objects, whether silver basins or gilt plates, tapestries or bedcovers, altar frontals or religious sculptures, sparkled throughout the Riario household. Both die high quality and large quantity of the goods spoke to the family's taste and status, and set an appropriately lavish stage for the court to perform its noble duties.

Personal Adornment

The splendid setting of the princely home would not be complete without the presence of the noble family dressed in exquisite clothing and jewels. These components of personal adornment were not sequestered inside the home like most of the decorative and functional objects explored above. The prince and princess wore their line clothing and accessories in public to make the right impression by bringing some of the opulence of their home to a broader audience. Their luxurious ensembles reflected their social and political condition on an everyday basis. Princely clothing was most refined at ceremonial events such as weddings and triumphal entrances, as demonstrated by carefully chosen outfits and jewels worn by Caterina Sforza and Girolamo Riario during their nuptials. The couple maintained this high level of personal presentation for the official Riario entrance into Forlì in 1481, when Caterina donned a gold brocade dress and a French-style hat.[72] The ambassador to the court of Milan noted that she was "beautiful, magnificent, and well-adorned with jewels" *(bella, pomposa et ben fornita de Zoie)*.[73] The rest of the entourage wore garments fashioned from velvets brocaded with gold and silver, and soldiers and courtiers, as at the Riario–Sforza wedding four years earlier, sported stockings *alla divisa,* that is. with Girolamo's colors and devices.[74] Reports like these and other documentary evidence like inventories help to recreate the clothing worn by Caterina Sforza and the Riario family, but, more importantly, they

underscore just how closely ambassadors and other participants observed the nuances of princely dress.

The 1490 inventory confirms the luxuriousness of the Riario clothing, the wealth and prestige literally worn by the family. Many of the items, which the couple had worn at the height of their power, were so precious that at the time of the inventory, they were stored along with the silver and tapestries "in the room of the tower" (*i la camera di la tore)* perhaps the treasury, in the Rocca di Ravaldino.[75] Some of the garments were probably Girolamo's—the inventory was done two and half years after his death—and Caterina was only then cataloguing and consigning them for sale or pawn. In fact, it is difficult to tell whose clothes were whose, since most of the types of garments found in that room could have been worn by a man or a woman. These unisex items include a few different styles of cloaks *(gippone, mantelline, turche)* and overgowns (*giorne*). The tunics (*gabanelle* and *gabassi)* and stockings (*calze*) were strictly for men. More than the cut of the garments, the array of the fabrics and finishes attest to their opulence. Brocades, cloth-of-gold. velvets, silks, damasks, watered silks *(tabi)*. and taffetas in black, blue, violet, crimson, white, yellow, and green formed the bodies of the garments, which were lined with contrasting colors and trimmed with gold and silver fringes. For instance. Girolamo or Caterina once wore "an overdress (*giornea*) of gold brocade on a violet background lined with green damask with little fringes all around of gold and silver and crimson silk." Another version of the same garment, "done in the French style in cloth of gold shot with white thread, with a gold fringe all around and lined with violet fabric." could have been worn with "a mantel *(mantellina)* of gold brocade on a deep blue background lined with crimson damask."[76] These were prized pieces of imported fabrics and expensive trims, and notations in the margins indicate that Caterina decided to save the majority of them—all of the *mantelline, turche*, and *gabanelle*, and a few of the *giorne*—from the rest of the consignment. Perhaps she decided to continue to wear them herself, give them to someone within the court, or have them refashioned into other garments. She might have considered that the value of maintaining courtly splendor through fine clothes like these outweighed whatever income she would have received if they were sold. She apparently had no hesitation in consigning a chest of women's dresses (*camure*)—perhaps her own—and more cloaks (*turche)* listed a few pages later in the inventory. These clothes are not as fancy as the others and do not feature the gold and silver fringes,

but they are nevertheless fabricated of high quality materials. They are of crimson, violet, blue, turquoise, green, white, yellow, and rose silks, velvets, and damasks, and only one dress is gold brocade.[77] These two groups of clothing offer a view of two different levels of splendid court fashions—the finest and the more day-to-day.

During her marriage. Caterina dressed to proclaim her status as Riario consort and the countess of Iinola and Forlì. She insisted on wearing the latest styles—like the French hat from the entrance into Forlìand the finest jewels for public events. She did not attend the wedding of her cousin Bianca Sforza to Galeazzo di San Severino in Milan in 1486 because her jewels were in pawn and without them her outfits were not sufficiently elegant for the important occasion. As Girolamo explained to a visiting Milanese ambassador, "the jewels of my wife are in pawn part in Bologna, part in Genova. High interest is mounting, and they will shortly be lost. My wife will not be able to go to Milan as promised. I am happy to let her go. dressed or not dressed, bejeweled or not bejeweled. but she says she does not want to go without her jewels."[78] Caterina asked the ambassador for help, but apparently the Duke of Milan did not oblige her. Rather than appear in less than the highest style, Caterina stayed at home. Girolamo's nonchalant attitude about his wife's appearance seems to be staged to counteract the rumors that he would not allow his wife to visit her family—his excuse here is that she herself has chosen not to attend and he can do nothing to remedy the problem. He, of course, was the one who placed the jewels in pawn. This situation not only demonstrates the importance of personal appearance, but also how a husband ultimately controlled a wife's jewels and other goods, key components of her appearance, and, by extension, her participation in public activities and courtly splendor.

After Girolamo died, Caterina's clothing was still critical to her presentation. Although she was no longer under her husband's influence, she still needed to adhere to social codes of dress, in this case that of a widow and also a regent. Caterina's regency depended on her status as chaste widow and mother to her Riario children, and she probably showed her loyalty by dressing in a courtly version of widow's weeds for some time after Girolamo's assassination. Prescriptive literature advised widows to wear somber, dark clothing and a veil to indicate their withdrawal from the worldly concerns of display culture.[79] If, as a widow, she was supposed to lead a quiet life and wear subdued clothing, as ruler-regent. Caterina was obligated to maintain a public role and dress to demonstrate her princely status.

After an appropriate period of deep mourning. Caterina seems to have changed into relatively simple, yet colorful and high-quality gowns and kept the widow's veil, a combination that satisfied social expectations. Many veils appear in the inventories associated with Caterina. and they figured as an important component of her statecraft as widow-regent; she wears one in her portraits, seen on the medal of *c.* 1488 as well as in the woodcut that illustrated her biography by Jacopo Foresti from 1497 (Illustrations 1.7. 2.1).[80] While these portraits feature relatively simple clothes. Foresti's praise of her appearance was exuberant: "Indeed this Catherine is the most beautiful among the women of our generation with an elegant look to her. and [she] is magnificently adorned over her whole body."[81] The beautiful dresses (*camure*) from the 1490 inventory might have been hers, and the colorful velvets and damasks are hardly plain, especially those in the expensive colors of deep blue (*alessandrino*), violet *(paonazo or pavonazzo*), and crimson (*cremisi or chermisi*).[82] But, besides the one dress in gold brocade, none of them have gold or fancy trimmings and thus might have been subdued enough for a widow. Caterina wore a relatively simple, albeit expensive, gown of white damask with a long black veil when she oversaw a tournament in May 1493. Her companion at the event, Giacomo Feo. wore much more expensive and glittering clothes: a long cloak of crimson silk and a gold brocade mantel. A visiting ambassador noted that the couple "resembled two suns" *(pareamo due soli)* in their finery, although most of that was probably due to Giacomo's outfit.[83] Caterina showed restraint as a widow, but he was free to show off.

As head of the Riario court. Caterina was responsible for clothing her family and other members of her household. She employed a Neapolitan tailor, Maestro Iacomo, to meet her family's sartorial needs, and lent his services to Giacomo Feo.[84] An inventory, probably dating to the mid-1490s. contains a list of clothing and furnishings made (or soon to be made) at Caterina's request.[85] There are items for her children, including several robes, tunics, and cloaks in velvets and brocades for Ottaviano. a burgundy tunic for Cesare. two gold tunics for Sforzino. and a hat for her son with Giacomo Feo. Some pieces were not yet finished: five *braccie* of velvet were included to make a mantel for her daughter Bianca. and there was a note to have Giacomo's mother make stockings for her grandson. The order did not neglect members of Caterina's staff. For instance, some scraps of silk and a violet cloak went to a Maestro Paulo and a few bed coverings and a violet velvet robe lined in fur were designated for Antonio di

Melozzo. a high-ranking courtier who conducted most of the family's inventories. Caterina used Giovanni and Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici to procure luxurious Florentine fabrics for her court in the mid-1490s, and an 1498 inventory records her extensive collection of dozens of lengths uncut and expensive silks, velvets, damasks, and other textiles including ribbons and trims, much of which was probably destined for fine household furnishings and family clothing.[86]

Accoutrements of the Hunt

One of the public occasions when the elite appeared in their exquisite clothing and accessories was the hunt, an exclusive prerogative that allowed the nobility to showcase their high privilege. Hunting confirmed the noble jurisdiction over lands, and participation with the proper level of style required high-quality clothing, animals, and other accoutrements. Giovanni Pontano stated that a magnificent prince would lead grand hunts, and he included in his list of what constituted splendor well-bred and trained horses and hunting dogs and expensive harnesses, saddles, and the other necessary equipment for hunting and falconry.[87] From an early age. nobles learned the necessary skills to handle their horses, dogs, and birds of prey, and the corresponding rules of proper comportment. The hunt was an especially significant part of a boy's education, since it cultivated the same type of skills he would need when defending territories as a mercenary soldier or commanding an army.[88] Success during a hunting excursion provided game for the table, but the hunt's main goals consisted of recreation and entertainment as well as a demonstration of prowess and dominion. With its special costumes and equipment, fancy horses, and a large entourage, the hunt approached theatre, and sometimes was staged so that the ruler or a special guest could kill a particular quarry. Tournaments, mock hunts, and battles performed during weddings, triumphal entrances, or on feast days and other civic holidays, were outright spectacles, with plenty of opportunity for displays of power and allegiance. While one's subjects might have caught a mere glimpse of the finery of a hunting entourage, they would certainly have been able to attend a tournament and absorb all the nuances of the princely performances.

Both Girolamo and Caterina actively participated in the hunt and

understood the value of staging tournaments to entertain and assert their power and prowess. Girolamo hosted a tournament in Rome during his wedding festivities, during which he pledged his assured victory to his bride. He organized several excursions at the papal hunting lodge at Magliana. just west of Rome, including one that was part of the reception for the Prince of Saxony when he visited in March 1480. A year later, Girolamo staged a more extravagant hunt when eighteen hundred of his knights and troops, preceded by trumpeters and drummers, flushed animals from the woods around Magliana so that the participants could make easy kills.[89] Caterina shared her husband's interest in hunting and, soon after she ascended to the regency, built a hunting park in the early 1490s and stocked it with animals.[90] Her letters reveal that she sought out excellent riding horses and hunting dogs both for her use and for elite diplomatic gifts. In January 1478, Bona of Savoy sent her two dogs that Caterina lavishly praised in her letter of thanks.[91] When visiting the Romagna in 1481. Caterina asked Eleonora of Aragon, duchess of the neighboring court of Ferrara. to give her three pairs of hunting dogs: greyhounds "sufficiently quick to catch the goats of the Roman campagna, which are most fast," good tracking dogs, and birding hounds.[92] She bought and traded horses with the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, a court well-known for its horses. In May 1490, Caterina exchanged letters with Francesco about a horse she wanted, and later, in 1499. she sent him two horses: he had requested and paid for one and she gave the other as a gift.[93]

If the Riario horses were impressive enough to send to a discerning horseman like Francesco Gonzaga. their saddles, harnesses, and other furnishings were just as fine. During the 1481 entrance into Forlì, the Riario's horses sported saddles with silver and gold fittings.[94] The 1490 inventory confirms the glittering elegance of the riding paraphernalia within the court For instance, a harness with Girolamo's arms and a pair of spurs were both gilded. Seventeen saddles were all covered in various combinations of turquoise, crimson, dark blue, violet, or black leather, velvet, and silk; three of these were specifically for a woman and three others featured the Riario arms. Some had fringes, coordinating harnesses, and gold trims. Horses and mules alike had fancy velvet, silk, brocade, or leather accessories, each described as in the Italian or German style, including pieces for the animal's back, the head, breast, and feet, all trimmed with gold studs or fittings. One of these sets of furnishings was specifically for a woman's saddle. Other essential items were just as exquisite: bits came

attached to reins of crimson or violet silk and other, separate reins were turquoise or black silk and violet velvet,[95] The quality of these pieces suggests that they may have been more for parade than for everyday use. but in the context of courtly display culture, a hunt was by nature an event worthy of a fine display.

Caterina and her courtiers might have used these exquisite equine furnishings on regular hunts and certainly employed them during special processions and entrances. There are a few notices of her regency-era hunting excursions and tournaments, and, interestingly, several relate to her relationship with her lover and castellan Giacomo Feo. His regular inclusion in Riario displays of splendor revealed his intimate involvement in the court. For instance. Caterina presided over a tournament in Forlì in May 1493, and the men representing her in the joust and their horses must have worn the court's devices to distinguish them from their competitors, men representing Giacomo.[96] Caterina's men won, as the ruler-regent's should, but the joust nonetheless raised the suspicions of a visiting Florentine ambassador who later surmised, despite the outcome of the tournament, that it was Giacomo who really controlled the Riario court.[97] That the ambassador used the event in his interpretation of the situation reveals the political symbolism within the staged aspects of the tournament: the level of Giacomo's participation was a sign of his special status within the court. Further exposing his position as court intimate. Giacomo accompanied Caterina and her family during their hunting excursions, and it was during the return from one in August 1495 that anti-Feo partisans pulled him from his horse and slaughtered him in front of the rest of the group.[98] The rebels chose a moment when Giacomo was vulnerable, outside the protective fortress, but also when he was provocatively exhibiting his power and grandeur by hunting with the ruling family. He participated in the exclusive event, dressed in luxurious clothing, his horse probably sporting fine equipment, all signs of his integration into the Riario court. The assassins read these and previous actions as inappropriate, and the story provides another example of the importance not only of knowing one's place, but also of understanding the impact of appearances.

Strategies of Collecting

As the documents reveal, Caterina Sforza maintained a splendid environment within the Riario court. But she had to make choices about which items and expenses were absolutely necessary, and which were not, and she searched for ways to cut costs while keeping up appearances. The collection of goods within the court ebbed and flowed with the family's financial realities, and Caterina pawned or sold the most precious pieces during difficult periods. Her husband was already feeling the pinch of his curtailed income in the years after Sixtus IV's death, and he pawned what were probably the most valuable items in the court—Caterina's jewels—to help finance other endeavors.[99] Two years into her regency. Caterina called for the 1490 inventory to record the things she consigned to her castellan at Imola, Gianpietro Landriani, who then probably sent them to a pawn shop or sold them outright; these were among the most impressive and expensive goods she possessed at the time. Indeed, most inventories, if not done after a death or before a marriage, were to record goods being put into storage or used as collateral.[100]

Documents confirm that some, if not all. of the items inventoried in 1490 were actually used as collateral for a loan. A few months after the consignment, Ercole d'Este asked Caterina if he could borrow some tapestries and silver for the decorations at the wedding of his son Alfonso to her half-sister Anna. She confided to him that she no longer had the ones he wanted; they were likely part of the goods she had sent away.[101] But even the more mundane items from the inventory, such as damaged candles, used mattresses, and worn-out pots and pans, could have served as collateral or brought in some money on the lively resale market. In the months preceding the 1490 consignment. Caterina had been trying to reclaim the jewels that Girolamo had previously put into hock. In April of that year, she complained to Milan that she would receive only four or six thousand ducats for jewels worth 25,000 unless someone intervened and paid the interest on the loan.[102] Her choice to sell some items or gain another loan might have been an attempt to retain her jewels since they were still in pawn in Modena in 1497.[103] That year. Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici loaned her 10,000 ducats to get the jewels back; in exchange, Caterina gave him 6,000 bushels of grain to sell.[104] Together the jewels probably had the highest resale value of all the Riario collections and, because of their small size, they were the easiest to store and transport, hence her desire to keep them over the silver and textiles. In 1505, Caterina used some of her jewels as collateral for another debt worth 2,464 gold ducats and sold off

others.[105] Nevertheless, nothing from the 1490 inventory reappears in later documents, and Caterina possessed only a handful of jewels at the time of her death, so she must not have been able to pay back all the loans and retain the items.

Caterina's use of her family's goods to raise cash was a common practice. Nearly all princes were in need of money at some time or another and resorted to pawning their items, taking out loans, or using bartering and payments-in-kind to acquire new material objects.[106] The humanist Francesco Barbara commented on the practice early in the fifteenth century: "Jewels and gold may often easily be of great use in business and public affairs. Who does not know how useful this sort of wealth was at a certain time to ... [raise] money."[107] Jewels, silver, tapestries, and other textiles would command the highest prices primarily because of their materials, but also for their level of exoticness or fashion, as with imported or ancient pieces. They provided the best means for Caterina to raise money when income from taxes and duties fell short, the harvest was not sufficient enough to reap a profit, or her requests to relatives for help fell 011 deaf ears.[108] As she sold off or pawned her goods, Caterina lost not just the material objects, but also the physical proof of the position her family had so recently enjoyed and, especially when considering all the pieces with foreign coats of arms, their social ties. The status that had allowed the Riario-Sforza family to receive and sustain those gifts was tenuous without the backing of Sixtus IV and even more difficult after Girolamo died. The objects slipped away as the connections faded. But Caterina did not sell off everything. She retained quite a number of items that she deemed necessary for an appropriately noble lifestyle and commissioned and collected new items as well. Her collections reveal her material priorities and what she considered essential for proper courtly display. She employed creative techniques, common amongst the elite and the rising merchant class, for the financing and acquisition of new goods.

Caterina drew upon her social and political ties to get the most for her money. Gifting was one way to collect without spending money, although of course, the practice hinged upon mutual exchange and any gift needed to be returned in kind. Gifting was a crucial part of diplomatic relations among the various courts of Italy and Europe. The Riario received many of the expensive pieces of silver discussed above through gifting and inheritance, and they gave fine gifts themselves. In January 1487. Girolamo Riario sent a long piece of white damask, along with a delegation of eighty men and seventy horses, to the

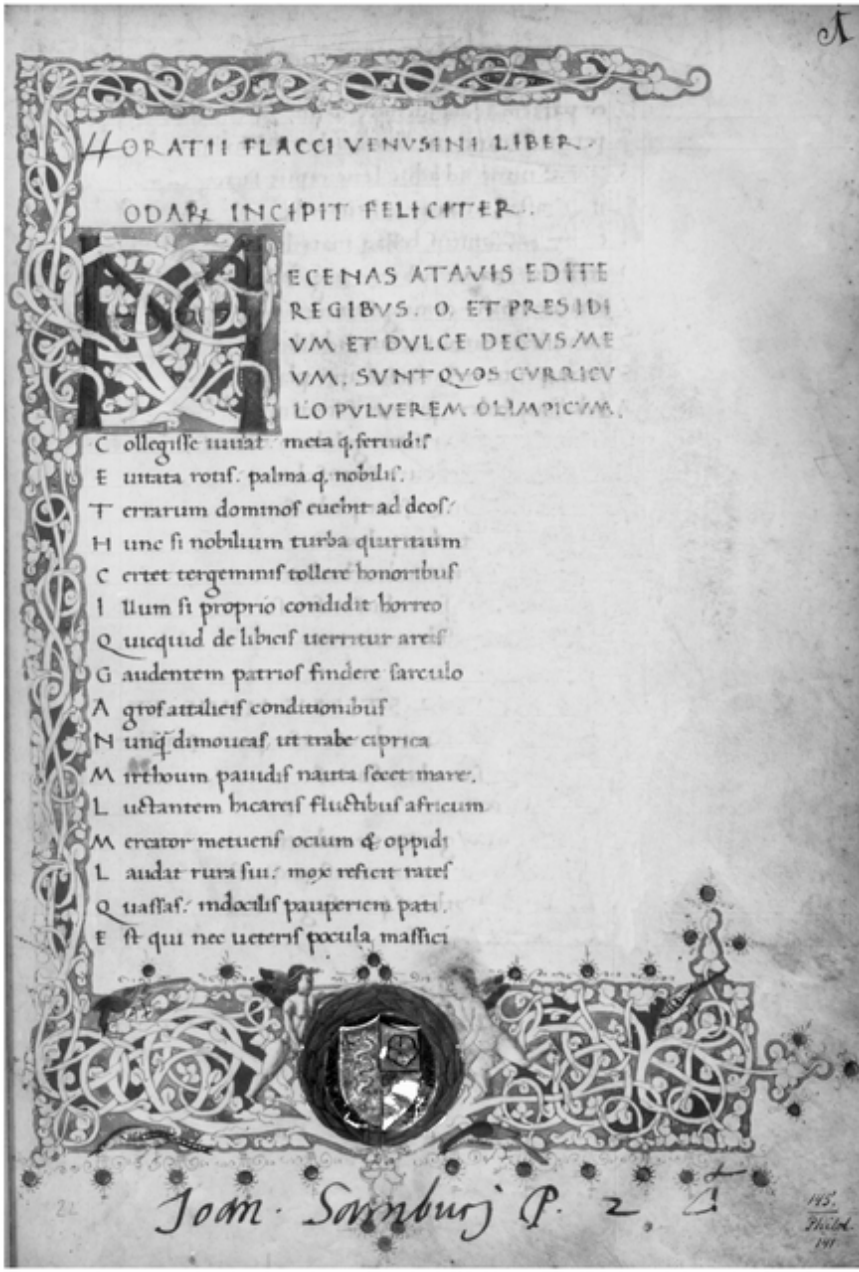
wedding of Annibale Bentivoglio of Bologna and Lucrezia d'Este.[109] A length of cloth might seem an unusual wedding present, but it was worth 150 ducats and could be made into whatever the recipients wanted. The elite exchanged gifts for less exalted occasions as well. For instance, every year at lent. Ercole d'Este. the Duke of Ferrara. would send Caterina a shipment of one hundred salted eels from Lake Comacchio, and she would reciprocate with baskets of rose apples and candied chestnuts from her own territories.[110] These special foods enhanced the princely table in a way that Giovanni Pontano would have approved. Seemingly small, the exchange was an annual ritual that helped to maintain relations between the neighboring courts, especially when disputes arose. Granting favors and advice was a more subtle form of gifting and the elite constantly consulted one another about where to find the best products at the best prices or how to get a discount. Caterina requested on several occasions that her peers in nearby princely courts waive the duties required for her goods to pass through their territories. In 1486, her order of linens and a gold chain from Milan was waylaid in Ferrara while both she and her husband negotiated its import tax. They wrote to the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara several times to request their help in canceling the duty.[111] In 1490, she again bargained with the Este when she requested that 240 baskets of grain, which she had sold to pay off a debt, pass through Ferrara duty-free.[112]

Diplomacy allowed Caterina to save money on tariffs, and sometimes a peer's connections could come in handy with other negotiations. When she was trying to regain some of her pawned assets in 1499. she wrote to Ercole asking for his help in the return of a silver vase.[113] Even something as banal as bedding merited consultation. After corresponding with her peers about where to acquire high-quality down beds. Caterina asked Francesco Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua, if he would allow the ones she finally ordered to pass through his territories duty-free in February 1489.[114] Members of the elite were always in need of good products and services, and as they made recommendations to each other, they gained social collateral by demonstrating their good taste and expertise.

Diplomatic relations over material items did not always progress smoothly. For instance, when Ercole d'Estc returned home after a visit to Forlì in the summer of 1487, he realized that one of his prized *spalliere* was missing. As Caterina's brusque letter to the duke reveals, a few letters had already passed between the courts on the topic, an indication of the importance of the object. Ercole did not accept

Girolamo's response that the piece was not in Forlì and Caterina took offense at the implication that she. Girolamo. or someone on their staff had taken the *spalliera.*[115] The incident highlights just how important luxury goods were to personal display. Nobles typically traveled with select pieces to make the right impression and provide familiar comforts while abroad.[116] The fact that one could be lost attests to the large number of possessions nobles carried with them, so many that one could slip through the cracks. A set of four silk *a figura* tapestries with the arms of Duke Borso d'Este. Ercole's older brother, appeared in the 1490 Riario inventory. It is possible that the textiles were a gift—Borso was the Duke of Ferrara at the time of the Riario-Sforza wedding—but it is also possible that one of these might have been Ercole's lost *spallera.* Records do not show whether the misplaced piece was ever found or returned, but the situation must have been resolved somehow because in 1491 Ercole had enough faith in his relationship with Caterina to ask if he could borrow tapestries and silver for his son's wedding. It was not because of any ill will on Caterina's part that he did not get the loan; rather, as explained above, she apologized that the requested pieces were not available, but assured Ercole that if they were, she would be happy to send them.[117] In order to maintain their lofty standards of splendor, nobles often borrowed works of art from each other to help with the serious duty of embellishing the household, especially for special occasions.

The tapestries that bore Borso d'Este's arms in the Riario collections affirm that Renaissance nobles often recycled their goods through re-gifting and not just pawning and selling. If Borso's tapestries were a gift, and not related to Ercole's lost textile, they were probably taken from the Este collection and given as a wedding or diplomatic present. Tapestries had enormous value, and a set of four tapestries, whether new or used, would have been a very generous gift. Borso's niece. Isabella d'Este, regularly practiced re-gifting. In 1511, Lucrezia d'Este Bentivoglio commissioned Francesco Francia to paint a portrait of Isabella based on a verbal description. When Isabella received the painting as a gift, she then gave it to Giovanni Francesco Zaninello; she later asked to borrow it so that Titian could make a copy of it in 1534 and the result is his well-known and idealized portrait of her.[118] One of the few extant


HORATII FLACCI VENVSINI LIBER
ODAS INCIPIT FELICITER
ECENAS ATAVIS EDITE
REGIBVS. O ET PRESIDI
VM ET DVLCE DECVS ME
VM. SVNT QVOS CVRRICV
LO PVLVEREM OLIMPICVM
collegisse iuuat meta q; feruidis
E unata rotis palma q; nobilis
T erarum dominos euehit ad deos
H unc si nobilium turba quiritium
C certet tergeminis tollere honoribus
I lium si proprio condidit horreo
Q uicquid de libicis uerritur areis
G audentem patrios findere sarculo
A gros attalicis conditionibus
N unq; dimouear ut trabe cypria
M yrtoum pauidis nauta secet mare
L ydantem bithyne mercibus
M ercator metuens otium & oppidi
L audat rura sui mox reficit rates
Q uassas indocilis pauperiem pati
E st qui nec ueteris pocula massici
Joan. Sarisburj P. 2.

3.9 Unknown miniaturist, frontispiece with Caterina Sforza's coat of arms, *Odes of Horace,* Milan, *c.* before 1448

manuscripts owned by Caterina was indeed a recycled gift. The small book of Horace's Odes, now in the Austrian National Library, was produced in Milan in the mid-fifteenth century, and Caterina's quartered coat of arms was added to the title page later (Illustration

3.9).[119] Someone probably already owned the book, decided to give it to Caterina. and personalized it with her emblem, perhaps around the time she left Milan on her wedding journey to Rome. The high quality humanist manuscript, despite being slightly used, was nonetheless a splendid gift for the young bride.

Similarly, the elite would use their goods for barter and payments in kind. By the late 1490s. Caterina had amassed a huge collection of uncut fabrics, which she eventually used as barter.[120] To secure a favorable position. Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici had made some gifts of luxurious cloth to the Riario family when he first started visiting the court.[121] Caterina must have been impressed with the products and began to buy brocades, damasks, and velvets from Florence, a center of high quality textile production.[122] If she had been graced by consistent prosperity. Caterina might have had all this material made into clothing and furnishings, but instead she used some of the expensive fabrics to pay her soldiers in 1499.[123] Again Isabella d'Este offers evidence of similar practices. When she ordered the artist Antico to make a copy of the Spinario statuette that he had completed for someone else. Isabella sent the sculptor's wife one of her velvet dresses as a down payment.[124] The textiles, like silver or jewels, were valuable as raw materials or when fashioned into some exquisite garment or object.

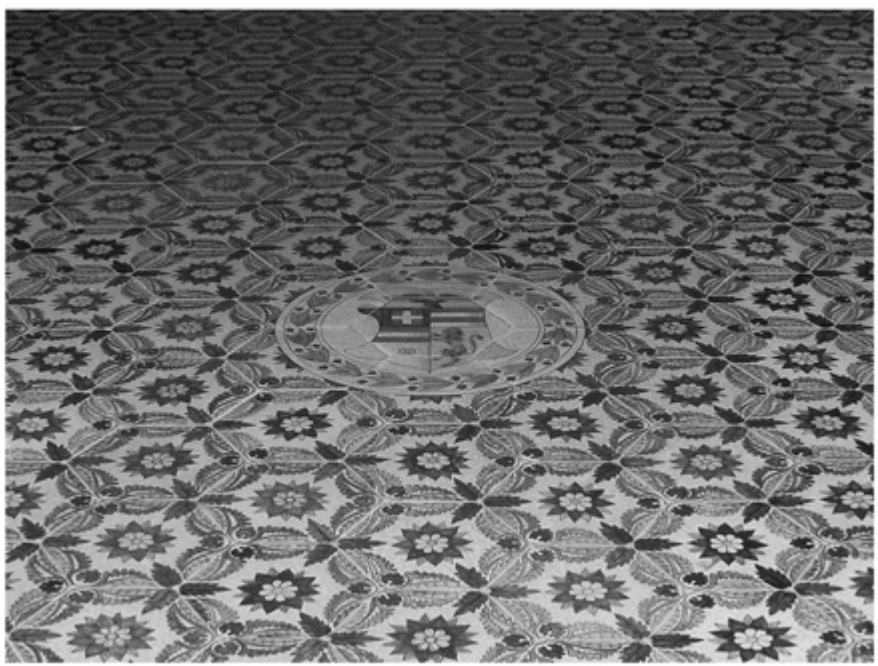
While many luxurious items were exclusive commissions, the fifteenth century witnessed the development of early methods of serial production that cut the costs of popular products. Innovative workshops applied the new methods to the production of portrait medals, coins, ceramics, metal ware, sculpted figurines, glassware, and so on, items associated with the decorative arts, sought after and attained by many. Serially produced items, less expensive than a special commission but nonetheless adapted to patrons' needs, had a growing audience in those with limited funds but high material aspirations. Caterina was one of these collectors, and in at least two cases, she took advantage of the benefits imparted by the new techniques. Both of the shops Caterina used were in Florence, where the large market in luxury goods generated enough demand to promote and sustain such methods. First, she likely commissioned the portrait medal most emblematic of her persona and rule from the workshop of Niccolo Fiorentino in *c.* 1488 (Illustrations 1.7 and 1.8). His shop provided its clients with model books of designs and emblems from which they could choose their devices.[125] The shop would then add a personalized portrait, perhaps based on a drawing

or a verbal description, and inscriptions, and the finished product was more affordable because of the simplified set of choices. While no document positively links Caterina's medal to the shop, its style is very similar to Niccolò's other work. Another medal attributed to his shop, of King Charles VIII of France, displays virtually the same motif, and it seems that both the King, when he was in Florence in 1494–95 during his invasion of the peninsula, and Caterina chose their emblem from the same model book (Illustration 1.11).[126] Niccolo's workshop offered both of them a customized portrait medal, but at a cheaper cost (and quicker turn-around time) than if they had employed a personal advisor and more expensive artisan. Later, when Caterina wanted to update her portrait medal, instead of devising something completely new, she simply used the same emblem and requested some small but significant changes to her portrait on the obverse (Illustration 1.13). The line of her hair on the updated version follows the line of her veil on the older medal, and so reveals the adaptation.[127] Caterina's economical choice to adapt not only saved her money but also made political sense: the triumphal cart motif had served her well and still had relevance for her regency.

While the medals allowed her to participate in diplomatic gifting and humanist commemoration in a more affordable manner, Caterina's other foray into serially produced goods resulted in a colorful pavement that served as a striking visual memento of her social and political ties, similar to the coat of arms of the gifted silver. The pavement was for the chapel and another room in her palace at the Rocca di Ravaldino (Illustrations 2.16-2.22). Caterina ordered it from the della Robbia workshop, in part because she wanted something resembling the flooring the workshop had completed for one of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco's rooms in the Medici Casa Vecchia in Florence (see Chapter 2). But she also benefited from the workshop's expertise and lower prices: while she clearly wanted "beautiful pavements" (*i belli pavimenti),* she nevertheless voiced her concern over its cost and asked for estimates to be sent along with sample tiles.[128]

Ceramic pavements in general were lower in cost than other prestigious flooring options. As Angela Dressen has demonstrated, ceramic flooring grew in popularity during the fifteenth century because it was a less expensive alternative to the stone pavements and Cosmati work it was often modeled after.[129] The process to produce ceramic tiles, using molds, local clay, and glazes, was much cheaper than cutting exquisite marbles to size and installing them individually;

the motifs on a single ceramic tile could mimic the patterns made by multiple small pieces of marble. The della Robbia workshop, like Niccolo Fiorentino's. pioneered serial production based on model books for their designs and offered high-quality, yet affordable pieces to their clients. The shop engineered its products, from small tiles and wall panels to large fountains and altarpieces. for easy shipping and installation, an early system of mail order and do-it-yourself assembly.130 Someone from the shop did not necessarily have to come to Forlì to install Caterina's pavement; this expense could be avoided if local artisans completed the project with the instructions packed with the shipment. The shop's beautiful forms and designs, their exclusive glazes, and their innovative techniques ensured their success.



3.10 The della Robbia workshop, pavement for Alberto III Pio's chapel within his palace at Carpi, 1495–1500

Caterina was one of several prominent patrons who turned to the della Robbia for flooring like this. Besides the now-lost Medici commissions, tiles very similar to hers were ordered by Giovanni II Bentivoglio for his family chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore. Bologna (1486–94) and by Alberto III Pio for a chapel within his palace at Carpi (1495–1500), both of whom might have made their selections

from a model book or perhaps from word-of-mouth (Illustration 3.10).[131] Caterina learned about the shop from the Medici and, like her peers Giovanni Bentivoglio and Alberto Pio. turned to Florence instead of nearby sources in Imola, Forlì and Faenza, each well known for their ceramics. Perhaps the prestige of having a pavement produced in the artistic center of Florence outweighed the benefits of promoting a more local economy. Because of its innovative production techniques, the della Robbia shop may even have been more economical. Caterina's choice in pavement tiles thus served both practical and aesthetic criteria. The beautiful tiles signaled to informed visitors not only her trade with Florence, but also her status among neighboring rulers. Whether the elite acquired their splendid goods through commissions, gifting, inheritance, borrowing, and perhaps even theft, they forged social and political alliances through their display.

Post-regency Splendor

Caterina Sforza longed for the splendor of the Riario court after she was released from prison and moved to Florence. She complained to her eldest son, Ottaviano, about her lack of creature comforts in 1502: "I find on my shoulders twenty-four mouths and five horses and three mules and for all I have to make the expenses, and I do not have a penny. Here I have not found anyone good, not a person who has desired to help me even with a glass of water, not that I even have a glass, but, what is worse, not a tablecloth or napkin, or a pair of sheets to provide for these men coming."[132] Her letter was in response to Ottaviano's plans to finance some troops that could help re-conquer Imola and Forlì. He had pleaded with her to pay not just for the soldiers, but also for the expensive clothing he needed to project the proper level of splendor in his quest to establish himself within the church hierarchy despite his family's setbacks.[133] She understood his needs, but was struggling to present herself in an appropriately noble manner. Despite the financial pinch. Caterina tried to maintain some of the princely standards appropriate to her status as noblewoman, if no longer ruler-regent. Before Cesare Borgia's siege, she had sent the goods she wanted to save to Florence.[134] Indeed, the last two inventories of her goods, compiled in 1502 and 1509, contain items that she had surely possessed for some time.[135] These were the things

that she chose to keep and. as such, they constitute the basic material apparatus necessary to maintain her status, as advised in the prescriptive literature of humanists like Giovanni Pontano.

Despite financial and political crises. Caterina decide to keep quite a few fine textiles, tapestries, and carpets, paintings and portrait medals, fancy clothing and jewelry, religious and secular books, and well-crafted household furnishings along with the usual dozens of linens for the bed and table (contrary to the pessimism expressed in her letter, she had many). She still possessed several pairs of gilt silver scissors, some crucifixes in gold and mother-of-pearl, a chest full of perfumes, a walnut intarsia bed. silver and enameled mirrors, an istoriated porcelain bowl, an ivory box, several books written on parchment or paper and bound with silver and gold fittings, and three framed paintings.[136] Although these selections are impressive, their overall quality and quantity suffered over the years. Tapestries still decorated the walls, but several were worn out (*triste*). Floral *a vedura* designs and heraldry from the Sforza. Visconti. or Riario families decorated most of them, and only a few textiles presented the more elaborate, and expensive, figural scenes. Instead of the numerous gilt silver basins, ewers, plates, and cups from the earlier inventory, Caterina's silver now consisted of twenty-five large and fifteen small buttons, a few pieces of flatware, and some ribbons woven from silver and gold thread.

In her later years. Caterina continued to disperse her collection to meet expenses. In 1501, she sold a number of fine textiles to pay off her debts.

3.11 Brass perfume burner, pierced, engraved and silver damascened with black lacquer infill, Venice, late 15th century, an example that suggests how similar items in Caterina's inventories might have appeared

Among the items in this consignment were: several tapestries, including one with the story of Christ done in the "Greek," or Byzantine, style and another with the story of Solomon; six tapestries, each twenty feet long and four-and-half feet tall, with the Sforza coat of arms; two sets of curtains, one in crimson velvet, the other in white damask, each one hundred and sixty feet long; and several altar frontals. chasubles, and copes in brocade and damask, with gold fringes and the Riario coat of arms.137 Several of the more expensive items from the 1502 inventory had also disappeared by her death in 1509: an image of the Madonna framed in silver and decorated with flowers made of pearls and small gems; two gilt silver balls that served as hand warmers and perfume burners, one with two pearls and

fashioned in the exotic "style of the Moors" *(alamoresea)* and another with blue and white enameling; a gilt wooden cross that contained a reliquary; one of her own silver portrait medals; and a small box full of jewelry, including gold rings set with cameos, a gold tiara, and other pieces (Illustration 3.11).[138] A small slip of paper appended to the 1502 document itemizes three rubies, three diamonds, and nine pearls of different sizes, together valued at 140 florins; these were the jewels that had once decorated fours pairs of exquisite gold and silver brocade slippers *(pianelli)* listed elsewhere in the inventory. They had been picked off and so prepared for pawn or sale.[139]

The sale of these goods allowed her to pay her bills, but she was still unable to afford some things that she might have wanted. Portraits of Caterina and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici were found in the painter Filippino Lippi's studio after he died in 1504. Caterina's. described as "a small painting with two small shutters, on which the Madonna of Imola is drawn." seems to be an unfinished panel. It appears in the inventory among several other works in progress. In contrast. Giovanni's was long finished, described as "a head of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco. old and painted on cloth."[140] Although the works were of different formats, it could be that Giovanni's portrait was there as a model for the one Filippino was working on for Caterina: alternately, the artist might have been updating the older image to better accompany the new portrait. One of the couple had probably ordered the new work, Giovanni before his death in 1498, or Caterina around the same time or, more likely, after she moved to Florence in 1501. The cost of the paintings may have been beyond Caterina's means, especially since she was in litigation with Giovanni's brother Lorenzo during this period, and so they languished in the artist's workshop.

Despite these hardships, at the end of her life. Caterina had two boxes filled with the portrait medals of her fellow nobles and rulers in Italy. One contained one gold and 58 silver medals, and the other. 25 bronze medals.[141] She presumably collected the bulk of these while she was countess and regent of Forlì and Imola. They provided her with a record of the social and political ties that she had cultivated throughout her life, a function far more precious than their value at the pawn shop. Financially hindered by her ever-changing circumstances. Caterina managed her family 's resources reasonably well until her death. Although she needed to dispense with many of the pieces that she and her husband had acquired early in their marriage, she nevertheless maintained some semblance of a splendid

environment within her homes, with at least a few of the trappings of luxury. As her collection of portrait medals attests. Caterina cherished the material objects fundamental to a splendid lifestyle and success in the social, cultural, and political arenas of the elite world.

Notes

1 "Honorevole, bello, pomposo e richo aparechio se vedi qui de pani deraza bellissimi missi ad oro e a seda, de capezeli, coperte e molti altri paramenti, de zetta, rasi, beretini e cremesi alcuni de veluto. damaschi bianchi e ... cum una credenza molto alta et ben cariga de arzenti lavorati a diverse et singulare foze quali furono dal Rev. mo frate Petro dati per la Santita de N. Signore al Conte Hieronymo." Letter dated 4 May 1477 in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 186; P.D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46–47.

2 These items are all labeled as being from Pietro Riario in the 1490 inventory of the Riario goods, ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 121r-4v.

3 "Una richa credenza et bene fornita d'oro et d'argento de la quale per grande moltitudine magniaseno non se ne moveva uno solo pezo, et altro argento serviva a le tavele ch'erano piateli quadri, squedele[scodelle], squedelini, salarini, cuchiari, corteli, taze, confectere et fructere." Letter dated 3 May 1477, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Ms**. Ital.** 1592, fols 110–11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 91, pp. 42–46.

4 Beth Holman has presented her research on the credenza and documented its official use as marker of status for the elite in papers at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in October 2005, and the College Art Association, March 2006. See also J. Lindow, *The Renaissance Palace in Florence* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 141; A.J. Grieco, "Meals" and R. Liefkes. "Tableware," both in M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Denis (eds), ***At** Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006), pp. 249–50 and 254–55, respectively.

5 "Est denique haec virago honoris, et gloriae appetentissima, ut quotiescumque de honore agitur, pecuniarum sit profusissima, nec pro splendore dignitatis pati velit superiorem." J. Foresti, *De Claris sceletisque mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497), pp. CLX-CLXV, quote on p. CLXV; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 272–76; quote on p. 276.

6 G. Pontano, "Il trattato dello Splendore," in *I trattati delle virtù sociale*, trans, and ed. F. Tateo (Rome, 1965), pp. 268 (first two quotes) and 270 (third quote).

7 Ibid., p. 272.

8 N. Machavelli, *The Prince,* in N. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others*, trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham. 1989), vol. 1, pp. 5–96, quote on p. 59.

9 Pontano, "Il trattato dello Splendore," p. 272.

10 See the catalogues from exhibitions held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the J. Paul Getty Museum: M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Denis (eds). *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006); C. Baskins (ed.). *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance* (Pittsburg, 2008); A. Bayer (ed.). *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT and London, 2008); L. Syson and D. Thornton (eds). *Objects of Virtue* (Los Angeles, 2001). See also A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988).

11 As cited by J. Hankins, "Cosimo de'Medici as Patron of Humanistic Literature," in F. Ames-Lewis (ed.), *Cosimo "Il Vecchio" de '**Medici*** (Oxford, 1992), p. 84.

12 G. Pontano, "Il trattato della Magnificenza," in *Itrattati delle virtù sociale,* trans. and ed. F. Tateo (Rome, 1965), p. 248.

13 S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), p. 162; see also P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT, 1992).

14 Pontano, "Il trattato dello Splendore," p. 273.

15 See C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento," in C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1987), pp. 213–46: P. Simons. "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *History Workshop* 25 (1988): 4–30; and J. Bridgeman, "'Condecendi et netti ...': beauty, dress and gender in Italian Renaissance art," in F. Ames-Lewis and M. Rogers (eds), *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 44–51.

16 F. Barbara, *On Wifely Duties,* trans, B.G. Kohl, in B.G. Kohl and R.G. Witt (eds), *The Earthly Republic* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 208.

17 ASMi, registri delle missive, IIIa, cc. 21–23; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 59 (Latin) and 60 (Italian), pp. 25–27.

18 For the history of dress in Renaissance Italy, see R. Levi Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia* (5 vols., Milan, 1964–68); J. Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London, 1981); and C.C. Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD, 2002).

19 See note 17, above. For a history of jewels and their cuts, see P. Venturelli, *Gioielli e Gioiellieri Milanesi* (Milan, 1996), esp. Chapter 2.

20 "zupa de brocato d'oro morelo, una mantellina de zetonino raxo morelo, et le maniche de raxo negro con certe bele perle al colo." Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Ms. Ital. 1592, fols 110–11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc, 91, pp. 42—46, quote onp. 45.

21 "Una catena de perle cum gioglieletto pendente, estimata ducati V.m." ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83, letter dated 28 May 1477; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 105, p. 55.

22 "una mantelina de brocato doro morello indamaschino una giupa de gitanino raxo cremisimo et maniche de brocato morello, et benissimo ornata di gioglie." Ibid.

23 "piena de dignissime gioglie estimata ducati quatromilia doro." Ibid.

24 Letters dated 18 and 25 May 1477 in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83, cc. 81–82; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 100 and 103, pp. 50–53.

25 Letter dated 4 May 1477 in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46–47.

26 Letter dated 28 May 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 105, pp. 55–58, quote from p. 57.

27 "compangnia de suoi famigliari tucti vestiti de giornee de veluto negro piano et li cipareli de raso negro. Havendo anchors molta et grande copia de fanti tucti vestiti de ciponi de veluto alexandrino et calce a la dovixa sua." Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Pontano, "Il trattato della Magnificenza," pp. 256–58; both quotes from p. 257.

30 Letter dated 28 May 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma, c. 83; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 105, pp. 55–58, quotes from p. 56.

31 Lindow, pp. 108–10.

32 Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Ms. Ital. 1592, fols 110—11; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 91, pp. 42–46, quote on p. 45.

33 "Il mangiare fin qui è stato solepnissimo si per la varieta e delicateza de cibi, come per labundantia: mangiando de molte et molte gente ogni di al palazo." Letter dated 4 May 1477 in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Ronia, c. 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46—47. quote on p. 47.

34 Letter dated 28 May 1477, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Ronia, c. 83; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 105. p. 55. For rituals of gift-giving, see N.Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison, 2000) and M. Mauss, *The Gift* (second edition, London, 2006).

35 Pontano speaks to the dynamics of gifting in "Il trattato della Magnificenza," pp. 260–63.

36 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 121–46; items cited on cc. 121r-24v. The

scribe tried to identify as many of the coats of amis as possible, and described the emblem or at least the rank or position of the person when he and his assistants could not. Some of the titles appear to apply to the person's status in 1490, when the inventory was compiled, such as Ferdinand of Naples, who became king in 1479.

37 "Eravi una credenza dargento del peso di 3000 libre aparechiata in la saletta e uno bacile grande doro e broncino grande doro e sei taze di cinque libre luna doro uno Altaro tutto fornito doro e perle e seta. Pareva il paradiso a vedree e chontemplare tale chose." Letter dated 15 July 1481, BNCF, Manoscritti II, 368; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 163, pp. 76–78.

38 Letter of 14 October 1481, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 192; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 187, p. 89.

39 For the items usually found in the Renaissance home, see M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Denis (eds), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006), and P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400–1600* (New York, 1991).

40 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 121–46.

41 Pontano, "Il trattato dello Splendore." p. 272.

42 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 122v-23r.

43 Ibid., c. 124v.; see also Grieco, "Meals," p. 250.

44 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, c. 124r.

45 Ibid., cc. 121r-v.

46 Ibid., cc. 121v-22r.

47 Ibid., c. 123v.

48 Ibid., c. 122r-24v.

49 Ibid., c. 122v.

50 "1 bechiero dargento dorato con lo suo coperto con 3 lioni p. pie. et certe feste intomo di relievo conroxete smalto azuro." Ibid., c. 122r.

51 Ibid., cc. 121v-2r.

52 Ibid., cc. 125r, 127r.

53 Ibid., c. 125r. Although the term "quadri" often refers to paintings, later in the inventory there are several other *scudelle* and *qnaciri tondi* made of tin (*stagno*) listed with other kitchen ware (c. 132v). The only descriptive words accompanying these first *quadri tondi* are "with gold frames" (*con uno frexo doro intorno)* or "simple" (*schietti*), perhaps implying no frame. Also of note, there are *3 Quadri quadrij* listed on f. 124v.

54 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 29, c. 336r.

55 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 127r, 122r, 124r, 122r, 124v, respectively.

56 L. Syson and D. Thornton, *Objects of Virtue* (Los Angeles, 2001), pp. 184–89.

57 See C.R. Guidotti (ed.), *Musei Civici di Imola: Le Ceramiche* (Imola, 1991), pp. 93–95, cat. nos. 9a-9d.

58 E. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, CT and London, 1995), p. 7.

59 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 127r-31r

60 T.B. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York, 2002), esp. pp. 3–28.

61 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 127r-28r.

62 Ibid, cc. 128r-30r.

63 Ibid., cc. 131r, 133r: ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 43, cc. 430r-31v (1498).

64 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 128v-9v.

65 Ibid., cc. 125r-v.

66 Ibid., cc. 128v-9v.

67 Few family chapels from the Renaissance era survive in private palaces, but their rarity now does not preclude their former existence. See P. Mattox, "Domestic sacral space in the Florentine Renaissance Palace," in M. Ajmar-Wollheim, F. Denis, and A. Matchette (eds), *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 36–51.

68 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n.14, cc. 121r (for the silver items) and 126v (religious textiles).

69 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n.14, c. 121r.

70 Ibid., c. 127r.

71 See the undated inventory, probably from the late 1490s, ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 29, cc. 336–41, esp. cc. 340r-v, quote one. 340v.

72 BNCF, Ms. II, 368; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 163, pp. 76–78.

73 Letter dated 19 July 1481 in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 92; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 167. pp. 79–82. quote on p. 82.

74 BNCF, Ms. II, 368; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 163. pp. 76–78.

75 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n.14, quote on c. 125r, clothing on cc. 125v-26v.

76 "la giornea brochato doro paonazio fodrato di damscho verde con la frage ha intomo doro e dargento e di seta carmesina;" "la giornea di brocato doro verde ala francese con le frage doro intorno fodrato di paoniti;" "la

Matelina di brochato doro alixa fodrata damascho cremisi." Ibid., cc. 125v-6r.

77 Ibid., c. 132r.

78 "le zoye de inia mogliere parte impegnate ad Bologna parte ad Zenoa, le quale patiscono gravissimi interessi, in breve sono perse, et epsa mia Mogliere non poterà andare ad Milano secondo la promessa: io vestita e non vestita, zogliata e non zogliata, per compiacerli la lassaro andare, ma ley dici non vole se non con le zoye altramente andare." Letter dated 26 November 1486 from the Milanese ambassador Francesco Visconti to the Duke of Milan in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, as cited and transcribed in P.D. Pasolini, "Nuovi Documenti su Caterina Sforza," *Atti e memorie delle R. Deputazione storia patrici per le province di romagna*, series III, 15 (1897), doc. 31, pp. 155–56. Bianca was Lodovico Sforza's illegitimate daughter, not to be confused with Caterina's half-sister Bianca Maria, who married Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I in 1494.

79 See, for instance, Girolamo Savonarola's *Book on the Widows Life* (*Libro della vita viduale*, 1491), in *Operette Spirituals,* ed. M. Ferrara, *Opere di Girolamo Savonarola* (2 vols., Rome, 1976), vol. 1. pp. 9–62.

80 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, cc. 156r-57r (1502 inventory), and n. 43, cc. 434r, 435r (1498 inventory).

81 "Est quippe liaec Catherina inter mulieres nostri saeculi formosissima et eleganti aspectu, ac per omnes corporis artus mirifice decorata est." J. Foresti, *De Claris selectibus mulieribus novissime congestum* (Ferrara, 1497), pp. CLX-CLXV, quote on p. CLXIV; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 723, p. 275.

82 The most expensive colors, because the cost of the dyes, were crimson, *paonazzio,* a blue-violet, and *alessandrino*, a rich blue. See Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence,* pp. 101–3. For Florentine funeral and mourning clothes, Ibid., pp. 88–90; and S. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD and London, 1992), pp. 170–78.

83 Letter dated 21 May 1493 from Puccio Pucci, ASF, MAP, Filza 54, n. 145, cc. 144–45; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 467, pp. 181–83, quote on p. 182.

84 Cobelli mentions Iacomo Sartore in his chronicle (p. 341), and the tailor also appears in other court documents. An order of clothes from him for Giacomo Feo can be found in ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 31, c. 347. See also A. Bernardi, *Cronache Forlivesi,* ed. G. Mazzantinti (2 vols., Bologna, 1895), vol. 1. part 1, p. 174.

85 ASF, MAP Filza 104, n. 36, cc. 386–87. The inventory has a *terminus ante quem* of about 1494–95: in the inventory, Giacomo's son is referred to as Bernardino and it was around this time that the boy's name changed to Carlo, in honor of Charles VIII of France. See also the undated inventories

of Sforzino and Ottaviano Riario's clothing in ASF, MAP, Filza 77, cc. 192 and 203.

86 For the orders through the Medici brothers, see the copybook of Caterina's letters to the brothers in ASF, MAP, Filza 90, n. 11, cc. 228–96; for the inventory of fabrics, Filza 104, n. 43, cc. 428–35.

87 Pontano, "Il trattato della Magnificenza," p. 235, and "Il trattato dello Splendore," p. 273.

88 Machiavelli, *The Prince,* pp. 55–56.

89 J. Gherardi da Volterra, *Il Diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Voltetra dal VII settembre MCCCCLXXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV*, ed. E. Carusi, *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani* n.s. 23/3 (Città di Castello, 1904), pp. 13–14; F. Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale a Imola* (2 vols., Imola, 1979), vol. 1. p. 19, n. 77. See also L. Bianchi, *La villa papale della Magliana* (Rome. 1942).

90 Caterina took great pleasure in a hunt in 1484; see A. de Vascho, *Il Diario della città di Roma di Antonio de Vascho,* ed. G. Chiesa, *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani* n.s. 23/3 (Città di Castello, 1904), p. 505. For her hunting park, see Chapter 2.

91 Letter dated 20 January 1478 from Caterina to Bona in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Roma; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 123, p. 63.

92 "de uno paro di levereri avantazati et gran cornedori che siano sufficenti alli capri de le campagne de roma quali son velocissimi: uno paro di boni segusi, et uno paro de brachi da astore." Letter dated 16 August 1481, ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi esteri, Forlì, busta 1177; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol, 3, doc. 173, pp. 83–84.

93 Letters dated 2 May 1490 and 4 November 1499 from Caterina to Francesco, ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Dipartimento affari esteri, Busta 1065; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 360 and 1094. pp. 154 and 405.

94 BNCF, Ms. II, 368; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 163, pp. 76–8.

95 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 124r, 130r-31r.

96 Letter of 21 May 1493 from Puccio Pucci to Piero de' Medici, ASF, MAP, Filza 54, c. 144; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 467, pp. 181–83.

97 Letter of 22 May 1493 from Puccio Pucci to Piero de' Medici, ASF, MAP, Filza 54, n. 165; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 468, pp. 183–85.

98 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 97.

99 See note 78, above.

100 Liefkes, "Tableware," p. 254. Gianpietro Landriani was Caterina's mother's husband; this was one of several instances in which she placed family members in high positions.

101 Letter dated 5 January 1491 in ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi esteri, Forlì, Busta 1177; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 372, p. 156.

102 Letter dated 21 April 1490 from Caterina to Bartolomeo Calchi, secretary to Lodovico Sforza, in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1040; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol/. 3, doc. 359, pp. 153–54. She later asked Lodovico Sforza for help in getting another loan, see the letter dated 31 May 1492, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1042.

103 Letter dated 5 January 1497 from the Milanese ambassador Francesco Tranchedini to Lodovico Sforza, ASMI, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 710, pp. 264–67.

104 Ibid. Rumors soon circulated that she had stored a huge amount of money in the walls of her palace. See letter dated 9 February 1498 from Bartolomeo Calco to Costantino Cominato, ASM, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1048; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 757. pp. 284–85.

105 Letter dated 17 February 1505 in which Caterina consigns her jewels to Paolantonio Solderini in ASF, MAR Filza 83, n. 92, c. 532r; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1423, p. 583. See the letter dated 19 April 1505 from Giacomo Silvestri to Caterina regarding the sale of her jewels, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 100.

106 E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance* (London, 2005), esp. pp. 196–203. See also E. Welch, "From Retail to Resale: Artistic Value and the Second-hand market in Italy (1400–1550);" P. Allerston, "The Second-hand Trade in the Arts in Early Modem Italy;" and J.M. Musacchio, "The Medici Sale of 1495 and the Second-Hand Market for Domestic Goods in late Fifteenth-Century Florence," in M. Fantoni, L.C. Matthew, and S.F. Matthews-Grieco (eds), *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries* (Ferrara, 2003), pp. 283–300; 301–12; and 313–24.

107 Barbara, *On Wifely Duties,* p. 209.

108 See for instance, her letter of 10 March 1492 to the Duke of Milan, transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 410, pp. 164–66.

109 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 173–77.

110 Letter dated 11 March 1489, ASMo, ASE, Carteggio con pricipi esteri, Forlì, busta 1167. See other annual letters of the exchange in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 358, 375, 377, and 416, pp. 153, 157, 167.

111 Letters dated 8, 19, and 26 July 1486, ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi estere, Forlì, busta 1177.

112 Letter of 27 September 1490, ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi estere, Forlì, busta 1177.

113 Letter of 29 November 1499, ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi esteri, Forlì, busta 1177; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1101, p. 408.

114 Letter dated 12 February 1489. ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Dipartimento affari esteri, Busta 1065; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,vol.* 3, doc. 317, p. 142. For beds in the Riario-Sforza inventories, see ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, c. 132v.

115 "parole insolente di questa spalliera ... inferrendo che per Noi sia stata retentuta." Letter dated 24 July 1487 in ASMo, Carteggi con principi esteri, Forlì, busta 1177; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 249, pp. 104–5.

116 For instance, Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de'Medici brought quite a number of objects to embellish his quarters in Forlì, as indicated by the inventories of his goods in the city after his death; these valuable items were eventually sent back to Florence, at the request of his brother Lorenzo. See ASF, MAP, Filza 83, n. 33, cc. 192–95; n. 34, c. 199: and n. 36, cc. 201–4.

117 Letter dated 5 January 1491 in ASMo, Archivio Estense, Carteggi con principi esteri, Forlì, busta 1177.

118 A. Luzio, *La galleri a dei Gonzaga vendula all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (Milan, 1913), pp. 210–24; see also L. Syson, "Reading Faces: Gian Cristoforo Romano's Medal of Isabella d'Este," in *La Corte di Mantova nell'età di Andrea Mantenga: 1450–1550,* eds C. Mozzarelli, R. Oresko, L. Ventura (Rome, 1997), p. 282.

119 Vienna, Österreichisch Nationalbibliotek, Cod. 145. See E. Pellegrin, *La Biblioteque des Visconti et des Sforza dues de Milan, au XVe siecle* (Paris, 1955), p. 406. The book contains no miniatures, just several embellished initials. Pellegrin dates the manuscript to before 1448, and the Riario-Sforza coat of amis was probably added when it was given to Caterina.

120 The fabrics were inventoried, and consigned, in 1498. See ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 43, cc. 428–35.

121 Letter dated 5 January 1497 from the Milanese ambassador Francesco Tranchedini to Lodovico Sforza, ASMI, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 1047; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3. doc. 710, pp. 264–67.

122 There are numerous references to her orders in the Medici brothers' copybook of letters to and from Caterina from 1495–96. See ASF, MAP, Filza 90, n. 11, cc. 228–96.

123 See the inventory that was found in a chest, and the notes included in the final pronouncement of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici's lawsuit against Caterina in the Tribunale della Mercanzia, ASF, MAP, Filza 87, n.1, cc. 1–25; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 164–65, n. 2, and vol. 3, doc. 1271, pp. 508–10.

124 C.M. Brown, *Isabella d'Este in the ducal palace in Mantua: an overview of her rooms in the Castello di San Giorgio and the Corte Vecchia* (Rome, 2005), pp. 119, 146.

125 See A.R. Flaten, "Portrait Medals and Assembly-Line Art in late Quattrocento Florence," in *The Art Market in Italy*, pp. 127–40.

126 G.F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini* (London, 1930), vol. 1, p. 250, and vol. 2, cat. no. 945.

127 Ibid., vol. 1, cat. no. 1015, pp. 265–66.

128 ASF, MAP, Filza 90, n. 11, c. 277v; see Chapter 2, note 98.

129 See A. Dressen, *Pavimenti decorati del Quattrocento in Italia* (Venice, 2008), esp. Chapter 1.

130 A. Marquand, *Luca della Robbia* (Princeton, 1914); F. Quinterio, *Maiolica nell'architettura del Rinascimento italiano (1440–1520)* (Florence, 1991) and F. Quinterio "Natura e architettura nella borrega robbiana," in G. Gentilini (ed.), *I Della Robbia e l'arte nuova della scultura invetriata* (Florence, 1998), pp. 57–85. See also R. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 1–32.

131 Dressen, pp. 360–61, 385.

132 "Io mi trovo alle spalle 24 boche: 5 cavalli et tre muli et a tucti ho ad fare le spese, et noil ho uno soldo: et qui non ho trovato bene alcuno, nè persona me ha voluto subvenire pure da uno bicchiere d'aqua, con dire che non ha el modo, ma, quello che è peggio di una tovaglia, o salvietta, o uno paro de lenzuola, o providere per questi che sono venuti con messer Scipione." Letter dated 22 July 1502, ASF, MAP, Filza 77, c. 94; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1175, p. 468.

133 There are several letters in which Ottaviano complains about money and asks his mother for help in obtaining a Cardinal's hat and its necessary trappings. See his letters in ASF, MAP, Filza 70, c. 248, Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1297, p. 518; Filza 78, cc. 126, 228, 293, 294 (Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, docs 1130, 1131, 1141, 1182, pp. 448, 454, 471); Filza 125, cc. 175, 182, 183, 225 (Pasolini *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 1302, 1307, 1308, 1323, pp. 519–21, 526–27); Pasolini cites another letter, dated 8 July 1507, that contains a request for clothing, vol. 3, doc. 1292, pp. 514–15.

134 L. Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino* (Florence: Sansoni, 1883), vol. 1, p. 204. None of the items in the 1502 and 1509 inventories seem to have appeared in the earlier inventories, which consisted of the goods going into consignment. These final two inventories documented all the moveable goods in Caterina's household, and only some of the pieces in the 1502 accounting were pawned or sold.

135 ASF, MAP Filza 104, n. 16, cc. 149–66 (1502); n. 18, cc. 223–33 (1509).

136 Ibid. These items can be found in either or both of the 1502 and 1509 inventories

137 ASF, Filza di atti di ser Alessandro Braccesi, B. 450, n. 8, cc. 235–42, inventory at c. 240; transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, pp. 829–31.

138 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, cc. 151v-3r.

139 Some of Caterina's jewels were already in pawn in Venice according to a letter dated 21 May 1502, ASF, MAP, Filza 78, c. 228; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1170, p. 464.

140 "uno quadretto chon dua sportellini, disegniatovi Madama d'Imola" and "una testa di Giovanni di Pierfrancesco, im pannolino dipimta vechia." The inventory is published in D. Carl, "Das Inventar der Werkstatt von Filippino Lippi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Ftorenz* XXXI/2—3 (1987). p. 380; and P. Zambrano and J.K. Nelson, *Filippino Lippi* (Milan, 2004), pp. 626–27.

141 Inventory of 1502, ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, c. 153r-v.

Chapter 4
The Cultivation of Mind and Spirit

> Filially, perhaps we can see clearly how much diligence [Caterina Sforza] showed in the educating and rearing of her children from the fact that she always wanted, at great expense to herself, to have around her the most learned men and teachers of the sacred theology to instruct both the heir to the throne, Ottaviano, and the rest of her children not only about human lessons, but also those of theology.
>
> —Jacopo Foresti, *Lives of Famous Women,* 1497[1]

During the Early Modern period, religious education was essential to elite intellectual and spiritual development and often led to charitable acts and religious commissions. Both men and women needed to understand basic theological issues and church teachings, but moralists placed particular emphasis on women's engagement in religious issues. Mothers were responsible for their children's education, and spiritual matters were of prime importance. The Venetian humanist Francesco Barbara advised mothers to instill in their offspring a strong foundation in religious and moral lessons in his early fifteenth-century treatise *On Wifely Duties*, "First they should instruct them in their duty toward Immortal God, their country, and their parents, so that they will be instilled from their earliest years with those qualities that are the foundation of all other virtues."[2]

Like other mothers, Caterina Sforza oversaw the education of her children; her regency title as *tutrice* actually mandated this typical duty. By the late fifteenth century, issues related to humanism had become just as important to intellectual training as theological studies, if not more so, and Caterina added a humanist component beyond the traditional religious topics. Caterina had received a humanist education herself under the tutelage of her grandmother Bianca Maria Visconti and, later, her stepmother Bona of Savoy. At this time princely education encompassed training in Latin, rhetoric, mathematics, and classical and theological texts, as well as horsemanship and other recreational activities. In Milan the ducal children, legitimate and illegitimate, boys and girls, were schooled together, a practice that was becoming more common with the advent of humanism.[3] Girls from the nobility were also expected to be proficient in the arts of needle work, music, dancing, and singing, all

skills they could cultivate and showcase in their own households after marriage. Prescriptive literature advised ladies to refrain from public speaking, but when noble women served as long-term or even temporary regents, oratory skills were fundamental to their position. Caterina clearly had a talent in this area, as Jacopo Foresti noted, she "flourished in public speaking, for she was a woman with a very quick and agile mind and a most tenacious memory."[4]

Although noble women were well educated and needed to be able to teach their children, tensions lingered over their cultivation of intellectual abilities. Even Foresti combined his praise of Caterina's intellectual capacity with an assessment of her spiritual and motherly duties, both safely within the realm of traditional feminine behavior. While the contemporary chroniclers writing about life in the Riario territories did not say much about the scholars who might have served in the Riario court, there is other significant evidence of Caterina's intellectual and scientific interests.[5] Her faith was indeed noteworthy, but the bias in local chronicles might be a reflection of the very public nature of Caterina's political and spiritual activities while regent. In contrast, her scientific projects and interest in humanism were more personal, and therefore less visible. Throughout her life, Caterina expressed her Christianity by supporting religious foundations and pursuing personal spiritual matters. Her public display of Christian piety had complex and far-reaching ramifications for her authority as wife, mother, widow, and regent. But Caterina's interests went beyond her obligation to educate her children and maintain an air of piety. She was also able to pursue scientific experiments and knowledge of the natural world, and participated in humanist culture crucial to the princely lifestyle.

Religious Patronage in the Italian Renaissance

Just as a magnificent residence, grand architectural programs to beautify a city, and humanist interests buttressed a ruler's good character and provided for the future of the dynasty, religious patronage and charitable donations established authority. The ever-cunning Machiavelli asserted: "A wise prince ... appears to those who see him and hear him talk, all mercy, all faith, all integrity, all humanity, all religion. No quality does a prince more need to possess

in appearance than this last one."[6] The Christian ideal of piety stressed the concept of religious devotion and duty to the church, the saints, and fellow believers, and charity figured largely in this model. Pious donations, whether in funds, objects, or monuments, signified the donor's commitment to the spiritual and cultural traditions of the church and society. Rulers had an obligation to contribute to churches and the needy in order to maintain their position of power. Charity could even extinguish sins, as the ascetic monk Girolamo Savonarola assured the noblewoman Giovanna Caraffa Pico della Mirandola.[7] The tradition of pious donations stems from before Christianity: *pietas* in ancient Rome honored one's country and family, both living and dead, through monuments and ritual.[8] The humanist ideal of magnificence combined the concepts of both Roman *pietas* and Christian piety; its goal was to bring glory to the individual's family, city, and homeland, as well as to the communal family in Christ. Rulers strove to demonstrate this Christian aspect of their magnificence through participation in religious rituals and the commissioning of works of religious art and architecture. Gifts to the church and other charities had an air of selflessness that building a personal residence did not. Nevertheless, these pious acts also produced very practical secular consequences—the boosting of personal reputation and the maintenance of social status.

Conspicuous donations to the church and commissions of monumental religious works were the preferred means of spiritual expression by secular donors who wanted recognition of their generosity. This is not to say that there were no anonymous and, by implication truly pious commissions or donations. In his treatises on spending money, Giovanni Pontano encouraged anonymous donations to fulfill Christian duty and suggested that liberality must be disinterested in order to be considered truly generous.[9] Prescriptive literature often stressed that it was better to add to or restore an existing foundation rather than to pay for a new religious foundation, mainly because the former was less conspicuous and therefore more sincere. These recommendations aside, Pontano and other humanists also addressed the need for public recognition of one's good works, especially when in the pursuit of magnificence.[10] Thus, conspicuous donations became more common as the fifteenth century unfolded, and the elite were able to express their spirituality while advancing their overall social position. According to the historian Kate Lowe, the faithful practiced three basic types of religious patronage in fifteenth-century Italy, distinguished by the details of the transaction:

anonymous donations of money, clothes, or food; conspicuous donations of the same; and larger conspicuous donations or commissions of monuments or objects, such as altarpieces, chapels, and vestments.[11] Nobles engaged in all three levels of religious patronage, yet for rulers, the latter two took on greater importance as a public testament to their benevolence. They occupied themselves with many types of religious patronage, from building a family chapel to endowing an entire monastery, and from commissioning an altarpiece to ordering a monumental tomb. Like their peers, Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza engaged in similar projects and so adhered to contemporary standards of religious behavior and patronage. Both supported several religious foundations as part of their statecraft as papal vicars, and while they contributed to some well-established foundations, they also gave assistance to some very new organizations.

The Religious Patronage of Girolamo Riario

Girolamo Riario's support of religious institutions in Imola and Forlì was fundamental to his rule. These cities were part of the papal territories, and he needed to demonstrate his Christian values and benevolence by giving generously to a number of local religious institutions. Girolamo's vast economic resources in the years 1474–84 allowed him to finance endeavors great and small at the cathedrals of each town as well as at other churches and monastic communities. He paid special attention to the cults of local saints and Franciscan foundations, probably in homage to his uncle, the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV. Girolamo's endowment of local spiritual communities was more than a simple expression of faith; his quite public religious patronage was a key component in his plans to build a strong Riario *signoria* in the Romagna; Caterina later adopted some of the same institutions in her own religious patronage during her regency.

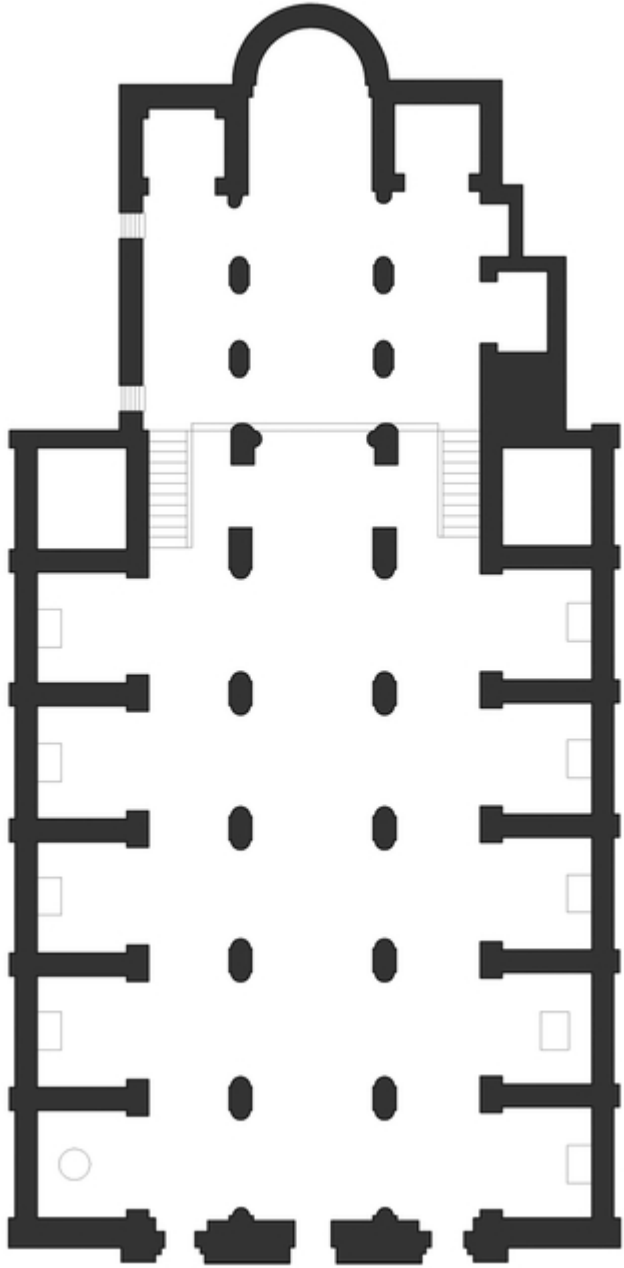
In contrast to his pious works in the Romagna, there is little to show for Girolamo's spiritual interests in Rome. He probably built a small chapel within his Roman palace, but there is no evidence that he purchased the rights to a family chapel in a church in Rome. This is a curious omission since most of the della Rovere and Riario cousins built lavish family chapels, several of which are in the Roman church Santa Maria del Popolo, built by Sixtus IV.[12] The only surviving

monument to attest to Girolamo's spiritual piety in Rome is the tomb of his brother Pietro. Commissioned by Sixtus IV from the sculptor Andrea Bregno, the three-tiered tomb stands on the left-hand side of the chancel in what was Pietro's titular church of Santi Apostoli. Above the sarcophagus and effigy of Pietro, Girolamo and his brother kneel at either side of the seated Virgin and Child. Saints Peter and Paul stand behind the brothers and serve as their intercessors with the Virgin. Peter is of course Pietro's name saint, but Saint Paul, rather than Jerome, presents Girolamo. The two saints, the most important of the apostles, launched the two main branches of religious service: Peter served as the first pope, the spiritual leader of Jesus' followers, while Paul fought as a religious warrior. Here, the Riario brothers similarly represent the two spheres: Pietro took orders and was a leader within the church hierarchy as a cardinal, and Girolamo remained secular but served as Captain General of the papal armies and Castellan of the papal fortress of the Castel Sant'Angelo.[13] This iconography thus reinforces Girolamo's status as Christian soldier. In any case, Girolamo's lack of religious patronage in Rome might indicate that he was more concerned with the promotion of religious institutions in Imola and Forlì, the dynastic seats of his power.

Girolamo promoted several churches in Imola as part of his overall plan of urban renewal. In 1477, he requested and obtained indulgences for San Francesco. Two years later, he did the same for the three other major churches in the city: the cathedral of San Cassiano, the Dominican church of San Nicolò. and the Franciscan Santa Maria delle Grazie.[14] In all four cases, the money that the churches collected paid for their renovation and modernization, and in subsequent years, further indulgences covered the increasing costs of the works already underway.[15] At San Nicolò, the Florentine architect Giorgio Marchesi and his son Cecco, both employed by Girolamo on his secular commissions, doubled the size of the existing cloister (1480–82). The convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, commonly known as the Osservanza because it was an Observant Franciscan church, was enlarged along its south boundary in 1487. Its two cloisters were expanded and new columns and arcades were added to each. New chapels were built on the north side of the nave of the church in the 1480s and 1490s, and their distinctly Florentine style suggests that the Marchesi or their followers worked on them as well.[16] Girolamo may have recommended the architects for the jobs and dictated their design so they could correlate with the Florentine style of the new construction in and around Imola's main piazza.

Girolamo was more actively involved with the updating of the cathedral complex of Imola.[17] Besides requesting indulgences, he forgave the fiscal obligations of the canons of the cathedral for several years, beginning in 1474, so they could finance the works.[18] The canons added a new choir (begun 1478); renovated their living quarters (begun 1482), the bell tower (begun 1483), and the church itself; and demolished and reconstructed the sacristy (begun 1483). The roofs of the buildings, the main façade, and the pavement of the courtyard in front of the cathedral were all remade, and the Piazza del Duomo enlarged (1480s). The final embellishments were completed by the mid-1480s. A new façade, with a larger main doorway and paintings that gave the illusion of marble columns, marked the main entrance to the cathedral.[19] Inside, the new decorations included gesso pilasters along the walls, a cornice above the choir, updated windows and door in the canonry, and an improved window onto the cathedral's relics. The canons also ordered new chasubles. The canons renovated their complex again in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the only remains from the fifteenth-century works are the design of the piazza and the general organization of the buildings (Illustration 4.1).

Girolamo designated the cathedral of Imola as a Riario space.[20] He personally paid for the new choir and oversaw the entire construction. Inside the cathedral, he called for several markers of his patronage. Account books record that special stools were constructed for Girolamo and his family inside the nave, and that the stalls of the choir were incised with the Riario *stemma.* In addition, the walls of the church were painted in 1483 with the quartered arms of the Riario–Sforza, Sixtus IV, Cardinal Raffaele Riario, the resident bishop, the local governor, and the comune of Imola. These arms served as signs of both secular and religious political power and as records of various donations, and asserted the interconnectedness of government and church in this papal state.[21] Around the same time Girolamo built a family chapel in the cathedral. Located to the right of the high altar, the chapel was a small, boxlike space, and Girolamo's standard graced it until 1504, when Pope Julius



4.1 Plan of the Cathedral of Imola, *c.* 1500, with the Riario chapel in the enclosed area to the right of the altar

4.2 The Cathedral of Forlì

II took over jurisdiction of the territory. The chapel was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, a strange choice since she was not the name saint of anyone in the family; perhaps the dedication pre-existed and the canons did not want to alter it. Girolamo likely decorated the chapel with at least an altarpiece, but no record of this possible embellishment survives—the chapel itself was destroyed during the eighteenth-century remodeling of the church. Girolamo was also involved with aspects of the cathedral's business beyond the updates and embellishments: he had a say in the various appointments to the cathedral and other churches in the diocese. He corresponded with the canons over these and other decisions; later, when she was regent, Caterina took on this task.[22]

Once the city of Forlì came under his rule in 1481, Girolamo began to support several of its religious institutions and promoted religious events that unified the city. He made donations to the cathedral of Forlì. dedicated to the Holy Cross (Illustration 4.2; see Illustration 2.12 for a plan of the city with the location of the churches discussed). In the early 1480s, its interior arches and vaults needed reinforcement, and Girolamo paid 900 lire and assigned Cecco Marchesi to the project.[23] As in the cathedral at Imola, Girolamo

marked the cathedral in Forlì with signs of his seigniorial presence. Two painted limestone *tondi* that featured Girolamo's coat-of arms of the Riario rose and Caterina's

4.3 Unknown stonecarver of the 15th century, *The coat of arms of Girolamo Riario*, from the Cathedral of Forlì, *c.* 1480s

arms of the rose quartered with the Sforza viper soon graced the nave and served as evidence of the family's patronage of the cathedral (Illustrations 4.3 and 4.4).[24] Girolamo gave an annual donation (*beta hoferta*) to the cathedral on the feast day of the local holy figure, the Beato Lorenzo.[25] The day, 12 August, coincided with the date of his receiving jurisdiction over Forlì, and so his veneration of the beato became synonymous with the celebration of his rule. Girolamo extended this annual commemoration in 1483, when he instituted an annual donation to the Franciscan convent of Santa Chiara on 11 August, Saint Clare's feast day. That summer, several earthquakes had

caused severe damage in Forlì. Since they occurred on the days around Clare's feast day, Girolamo called for a procession and votive offerings to ensure her protection over the city. The ceremonies became an annual ritual that continued until at least 1795 when Antonio Burricl published his biography of Catcrina.[26] According to Burriel's account, the procession started at the convent of Santa Chiara and circled through the city and included the canons of the cathedral and the town magistrates. The festivities stretched into the following day, the feast of the Beato Lorenzo. With the new celebrations, Girolamo amplified the veneration of two important intercessors for the Forlivesi, a decision that illustrates his acumen in utilizing religious events to forge political loyalties.

4.4 Unknown stonecarver of the 15th century, *The coat of arms of Caterina Sforza*, from the Cathedral of Forlì. *c.* 1480s

Once the Riario moved to Forlì in 1484, they adopted San

Mercuriale as their parish church (Illustration 4.5). Located on the main piazza of the city, across from their palace, the church was convenient, but, more importantly, their attendance demonstrated their devotion to Saint Mercurialis, the local patron saint of Forlì.[27] The ruling family traditionally oversaw the celebrations

4.5 San Mercuriale, Forlì

mounted for the saint's feast day, 30 April. On its eve, the

townspeople gave large offerings in the saint's name and participated in a running race and *palio*. The events continued the next day with feasting, dancing, and triumphal displays.[28] Festivities like these united the citizens and the rulers through the shared expression of religious and civic pride and loyalty. In 1488, Caterina staged her triumph in overcoming the rebellion against her family on the feast of Saint Mercurialis, another canny conflation of the celebrations that marked an important saint's feast day with a political victory.

Girolamo promoted the spiritual, cultural, and civic good through his many religious commissions, which adhered to and expanded local practices. Girolamo's religious activities, like his secular ones, were signs of his status as the papal vicar of Imola and Forlì. He was a representative of the church and his Christian beneficence underscored his political and religious positions. Girolamo's support of the Franciscans in Forlì was in keeping with the della Rovere and Riario custom set forth by Sixtus IV. Through his patronage at the church of San Francesco, Girolamo associated himself with previous rulers and the local nobility. Known as the "palatine church" (*chiesa palatine*) of the Ordelaffi, the rulers of Forlì prior to the Riario, the church also enjoyed the patronage of the city's nobles, who maintained several chapels inside.[29] Girolamo's patronage consisted of a donation for the rebuilding of the cloister, which was damaged in the earthquakes of 1483.[30] He may have built a family chapel there as well, although the evidence is unclear. Girolamo's body was buried for four days under a pavilion painted with his coat of arms in a chapel in San Francesco. This decoration could have been quickly constructed to embellish an available tomb inside a chapel borrowed for the event.[31] The church was destroyed in 1862 and the little evidence that could have helped understand the temporary burial is gone. In addition to his donation to San Francesco, Girolamo advocated a new foundation for Franciscan women in Forlì. The female convent of Santa Maria della Ripa was founded in 1470 during the Ordelaffi's rule, but it was not inhabitable until the Riario era. Girolamo paid for the construction of at least the cloister and arranged for sixteen nuns to be transferred from Ferrara on 22 March 1484.[32] The women were under strict clausura, and overseen by the friars from the nearby Observant Franciscan church of San Girolamo. Their new cloister resembled that of San Giovanni Battista dei Genovesi in Rome, the confraternity built by Sixtus IV in 1482–83 for the Ligurian population there. The similarity of the designs may imply the same masons worked on the cloisters, or that Girolamo wanted to make visual reference to their

earlier structure.

Girolamo further expressed his support of the Franciscans by advocating the establishment of a Monte dei Pietà in Forlì. Members of the order had been traveling throughout the Italian peninsula preaching about the Monte, a financial organization that was set up as an alternative to borrowing from Jewish money lenders.[33] Charging interest, or usury, was a sin according to the church, but Jewish money lenders lived outside canon law and could charge interest without violating their own standards, but sometimes their rates were rather high. The church-sanctioned Monte would allow Christians to borrow money on more favorable terms and so shield them from commerce with Jews and the risks of usury. It thus took business away from Jews and nurtured anti-Semitism. In November 1487, a Franciscan friar, Giovanni Novella of Siena, preached in the main piazza of Forlì about the need for a local Monte dei Pietà. According to the chronicler Bernardi, Girolamo, Caterina, and their children all listened to him from the windows of their palazzo.[34] In addition to lending money, the proposed institution was to make charitable donations to the city's churches and hospitals and oversee a Monte dei Doti, which would allow fathers to set aside money for their daughter's dowries. Girolamo donated 300 ducats to the Franciscan cause, and hoped to improve his subjects' spiritual and economic well-being. To his disappointment, the town councils did not approve the Monte in 1487, though the foundation eventually was established in the city in 1505. To ensure access to credit, Caterina invited Jews into Forlì in February 1490 to set up a loaning institution since the Monte was not approved.[35] Girolamo's support of the Monte demonstrates how spiritual matters could easily intersect with economic and social issues. As ruler, he supported local religious institutions and tried to improve the spiritual well-being of his subjects, and Caterina would continue in this endeavor during her regency.

Caterina Sforza’s Religious Patronage

Early Modern elite women commissioned religious objects and monuments, gave money to promote new religious institutions, donated to the poor, and educated their children about religious truths. Prescriptive literature advised women to cultivate their Christian devotion and channel their patronage into the church. Their

deeds reflected personal piety and conviction and, more importantly, reinforced ideals of gender roles and family status. The ideal Christian woman was married, chaste, modest, and devout, her energy focused on familial and spiritual endeavors.[36] Concrete evidence of women's patronage, whether religious or secular, during their marriages is often difficult to find because of the legal restrictions on wives' ability to spend money or sign contracts; documents often reflect the fact that husbands oversaw their wives' commissions. When wives became widows, their voices became more evident in the documents and historians on occasion have inferred their involvement in earlier works based on later interests.[37] Religious patronage was fundamental to women's lives and comprised the majority of their donations and commissions.

Caterina Sforza and many of her female contemporaries fit into this general model of behavior. Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1425–82), wife of Piero de' Medici, was a paragon of piety and supported many of the religious foundations traditionally associated with the Medici. She also developed her own spiritual interests, which became more evident after her husband's death. Her donations usually addressed the needs of the recipients, such as money for food or clothes, and her faith made her an exemplary Medici wife.[38] Eleonora of Aragon (d. 1493), consort of Ercole d'Este, similarly endowed several religious foundations in Ferrara. Her son Alfonso's second wife, Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519) was also well-known for her piety.[39] She retreated to the convent of the Corpus Domini in Ferrara after sickness and at other difficult times, and so could develop her faith in seclusion. Like these women, Caterina demonstrated her religious devotion through private acts and public patronage throughout her life. As a married woman, she adhered to prescriptive models of spiritual behavior. When she became regent, her religious concerns grew in social and political importance. Like her husband and other fifteenth-century rulers, Caterina needed to act beneficently as a sign of her piety, an important virtue that could buttress political authority. She strove to maintain the status of the Riario family in myriad ways, and her participation in spiritual activities and promotion of several local religious institutions were key components of her strategy.

Caterina's attention to religious patronage was more than a ruler's typical expression of power and beneficence. Because spirituality was so important to a woman's ideal persona, Caterina's religious interests may have countered some of her behaviors that transgressed gender roles. Even if serving as regent was common for elite women, it still

generated social and political tensions related to the gendering of authority and intellectual abilities. Caterina's status as widow played into this issue. According to moralists, the ideal widow should strive for a higher spiritual state.[40] To ensure this, she should not appear in public; rather, she should dress and act modestly and refrain from contact with men, except for immediate family members and her spiritual advisor. But the role of ruler-regent required public activities. By supporting religious institutions, Caterina showed that she exemplified ideal feminine behavior even as she took on the masculine role of regent. Her spirituality also masked aspects of her sexuality. A widow, she was no longer a virgin, yet also no longer under the surveillance of a husband. If she wanted to maintain her regency, she could neither remarry nor return to her natal family, two common options for widows.[41] Tensions over her independent status provoked rumors over possible affairs and liaisons, and some of those rumors proved to be true, as her regency pregnancies revealed. Even if she had indeed married Giacomo Feo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, as she claimed after their deaths, her peers and subjects were not aware of it during the actual relationships. In a time when chastity was at the apex of female behavior, affairs like these needed to be hidden, perhaps by an air of religious piety. Like Caterina, Lucrezia Borgia endured rumors and gossip because of her transgression of proper gender roles. Her first marriage had ended in divorce and her second husband was murdered by either her father or brother. Her marriage to Alfonso d'Este was her third, and she would soon be duchess of his territories. She purposely cultivated her spirituality to reestablish her moral character once she arrived in Ferrara.[42] Expressing a high degree of piety through charitable donations and the patronage of religious institutions was a good way to counteract problems of reputation and demonstrate adherence to rules of decorous female behavior.

Burials, A Widow's Duty

A good widow often showed her faith and marital loyalty by overseeing the Christian burial of her husband and carrying out his plans for a tomb. Caterina was in charge of Girolamo Riario's funeral, but in this case, her actions fulfilled more than just her duty as widow. As regent, she used the burial rites to honor her political predecessor.

New rulers often orchestrated the grand funeral and commemoration of their predecessors. For instance, Queen Giovanna II of Naples (ruled 1414–35) built a large marble tomb for her brother King Ladislas in San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples (1428).[43] Giovanna performed her filial duty to honor her brother, but more importantly, she satisfied the political obligation to venerate the esteemed former king. Likewise, Caterina arranged for the burial of her husband Girolamo in May 1488, first temporarily in Forlí, as part of the celebration of the Riario family's triumph over the rebellion that began with his assassination, and then permanently in the family's chapel in the cathedral of Imola. While the burial employed religious ceremony, it incorporated civic ritual as well, since during the process Ottaviano Riario was declared the new ruler, and Caterina his regent; because of the overtly political nature of the events, the details of his funeral and entombment are explored in Chapter 1. Despite her concern with his proper burial, Caterina chose not to build an elaborate tomb for Girolamo in the Riario chapel. It is unclear whether he had left instructions for a tomb since he had died without a will, but either way, Caterina might have considered taking on the project. She certainly funded some other works at the cathedral of Imola in the mid-1490s, mainly the construction of a new choir, completed in 1497, with *intarsia* stalls that displayed the quartered Riario–Sforza arms.[44] The choir area, now a showcase of the seigniorial sponsorship of the cathedral, was adjacent to the Riario chapel, but Caterina did not extend her patronage at the time with work on her husband's tomb. If she had indeed wanted to commemorate Girolamo with a tomb, financial issues probably prevented her from carrying out her duty. In 1558, Girolamo finally received a large wall-tomb built of *pietra serena,* paid for by his grandson Giulio Riario.[45]

Seven years after she buried Girolamo Riario, Caterina found herself in charge of another deeply meaningful funeral. Her lover and the castellan of the Ravaldino Giacomo Feo was assassinated on 25 August 1495. A few days after the murder, his body was taken to the Observant Franciscan church of San Girolamo, where a "grand burial appropriate to such a cavalier" took place.[46] As the chronicler Bernardi related: "Her highness made a beautiful [monument] in the said church of San Girolamo in the desire to bury the body of the aforementioned baron and captain [Giacomo Feo] ... And here his finely painted arms were placed above the floor ... she made a monument of bronze in which she could put the body. And there was a beautiful tabernacle all adorned with many candles. There were

even four banners of black cloth with his arms ... and there were in all thirty-three crosses:"[47] Giacomo was then buried in his family chapel on the south aisle of the church. Bernardi stated that Caterina made a large bronze tomb for her lover. If this is true, then she would have spent more money on his burial than on Girolamo's, something highly unlikely. A bronze tomb would have taken months to complete, and the cost would have been enormous, even if Giacomo had left money for its construction. No bronze monument survives from the chapel and no other documents record it existence there, and Bernardi may have exaggerated or misrepresented the situation to spice up his account of the Sforza–Feo liaison.[48] The monument he saw at the funeral might have been painted to appear like bronze. Even so, Caterina played an active role in the funeral of her lover and courtier, and she might have overseen the completion of the decorations of his family chapel, discussed below.

Caterina's involvement in the funeral of Giacomo Feo, like that of Girolamo Riario, had political overtones. Her concern over his burial was part of her statecraft, an assertion of power after his gruesome murder, an affront to her rule. After all, she had chosen Giacomo to be castellan and later governor within her court and his slaughter was a challenge to her decisions. She demonstrated her anger over the murder with her swift reaction: she rounded up the assassins and their families for execution and confiscated their properties.[49] But, on another level, the funeral revealed the intimacy of their relationship: in overseeing his burial she acted as if she had been his widow. Rumors had long circulated about their possible marriage, and her public participation in his funeral, something that family members typically arranged, suggested to all that they had indeed married. If this was the case, they certainly could not have made it known during Giacomo's life: the political situation was too precarious for Caterina to risk losing the regency because of a new husband. The animosity over Giacomo's rising power clearly indicated that the local nobles would not have tolerated his outright rule if the two announced their union and he officially usurped the Riario territories; in any case, neither Pope Innocent VIII early in their relationship nor Alexander VI later on would have approved of him as the papal vicar. As long as the relationship, and possible marriage, was ostensibly secret, they could maintain their respective positions and the façade of propriety. Now dead, Giacomo was no longer a political threat. His assassins had proclaimed their support of the Riario rule, and Caterina must have calculated that she could organize his funeral without destroying her

regency, which was, in fact, the case. Whatever it was that the public thought about her participation in Giacomo's funeral—that it confirmed their marriage, that he was just a high-raking courtier, or something entirely different—it was not such a shock that Caterina had to step down from her rule.

In contrast to her orchestration of the burials of Girolamo Riario and Giacomo Feo, Caterina was denied a role in the funeral of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, who died on 14 September 1498 at the baths at San Piero in Bagno, just south of Cesena. He had been suffering from gout and hoped the waters there would soothe his symptoms. Caterina wanted to go to the spa to attend to his body, but was quickly informed that Giovanni's brother Lorenzo would perform these duties. Letters written in the days that followed Giovanni's death speak to Caterina's grief at her lover's death and her frustration over not being able to see his body and plan the funeral.[50] While her private grief may have paralleled that of a new widow, the public did not see this, only her familiars. As with the relationship with Giacomo Feo, there had been much speculation about her possible marriage to Giovanni, but if the couple had actually married, they never announced it. Giovanni's brother did not express any awareness of it and so claimed the right to bury him. Caterina's inability to participate in Giovanni's funeral demonstrates how the wishes of a man's natal family overrode those of a lover, and possibly even a widow as well. Even if they had married and made it public, Caterina still might not have been able to claim Giovanni's body. The ambassador to Milan commented on her deep grief over Giovanni, but she was not to be consoled by participation in the rituals of burial and commemoration.[51]

The events around the deaths of Caterina's two lovers and possible secret husbands highlight the tensions she experienced as she balanced her personal and political roles. As a virtuous noblewoman and regent, she had to check her display of grief over the death of a lover, even if she had secretly married him. She had maintained throughout her regency that she was a loyal widow to Girolamo Riario, and any sexual relationship, legitimized by marriage or not, would have violated prescribed gender roles, compromised her carefully cultivated façade, and ultimately jeopardized her right to be regent. An inappropriate public expression of emotions would have fully exposed the liaisons and their illicit nature, and made her title to rule all the more precarious. She had borne Giacomo Feo's child and at his funeral acted as his widow, but Caterina had developed her

virtuous persona to the extent that these events did not cause her downfall. She perhaps justified her control over Giacomo's funeral because of his official position in her court, and cast her interest in his commemoration as that of a benevolent ruler caring for an important member of her court. The Feo family might even have welcomed her involvement; their social status was largely derived from Giacomo's relationship to her. They were indebted to the Riario for their positions in the courts at Imola and Forlì, and it benefited them to agree with Caterina's wishes. But if Giacomo's status hinged upon his relationship with Caterina, Giovanni de' Medici's did not. Neither he nor anyone else in his family maintained a titled position in the Riario court. Giovanni might have advised her and undertaken diplomatic and economic negotiations on her behalf, but he was a foreigner, a part of the Medici family of Florence. Even though she had borne his child, propriety dictated that Caterina could not oversee Giovanni's funeral, and his family did not even allow her access to his body.

The Feo Chapel

Caterina's possible role in the decoration of Giacomo Feo's family chapel in San Girolamo raises further questions regarding what she revealed to her peers and subjects about the nature of her relationships. The patronage of the Cappella Feo, the most famous work of art in Forlì until its destruction in 1944, has been a continuing source of speculation. Giacomo Feo gained the rights to the chapel in the early 1490s, and its decoration commenced soon thereafter, probably in 1493. Documents directly related to the commission are lost, but art historians agree that, based on stylistic analysis, the complex decorative program was at least planned if not also partially executed by the great illusionistic painter Melozzo da Forlì before his death in 1494; another Forlivese painter, Marco Palmezzano, finished the cycle.[52] The decoration might not have been finished before Giacomo's death, and, if so, Caterina or one of his relatives presumably oversaw its completion.[53] Caterina seems to have laid claim to the chapel by the late 1490s: Bernardi reported that she used it to bury another member of her court, Ottaviano Manfredi, in 1499.[54] In fact, the chronicler by then referred to San Girolamo as Caterina's family church. In addition to Manfredi, she buried Faustina (d. 1499), an illegitimate daughter of Raffaele Riario who had been

living in the Riario palace at the Rocca di Ravaldino, in the church.[55] Caterina may have chosen San Girolamo for these entombments because several members of the previous ruling family, the Ordelaffi, were buried in a chapel adjacent to Giacoino's. By burying members of her court in the church, she mimicked the Ordelaffi's princely model. But Caterina had supported the Franciscans at San Girolamo before Giacomo "s death: she sent ambassadors to Rome to request indulgences for the church in 1492 from Alexander VI, who granted them the following year.[56] Her interest in the church, then, coincided with that of her lover and she may indeed have played a part in his chapel's decoration, even before his death.

With its sumptuous decorative program, the Feo Chapel was fit for a prince. The virtuoso execution of the frescoes, with their precise linear perspective, naturalistic forms, playful characterizations, and expert foreshortening and illusionism, is visible in the incomplete set of black and white photographs that were taken before the chapel's destruction. The highlight of the chapel was the Active architecture painted within the round dome. Melozzo covered the vault with illusionistic coffering decorated with *all 'antica* motifs; at its apex, a ring of seraphim surrounded the Feo coat of arms (later painted over with those of a subsequent patron of the chapel). Four prophets and four evangelists sat on the Active parapet at the base of the dome and read from their respective texts

4.6 Melozzo da Forlì and Marco Palmezzano, dome of the Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in SanBiagio, Forlì, *c.* 1495

or gestured to one another as if in conversation (Illustration 4.6). Below them, robust *putti* stood in the windows painted on the four pendentives. In terms of both iconography and style, the frescoed dome of the Feo Chapel was similar to the dome in the sacristy of Saint Mark in the Holy House at Loreto, painted by Melozzo a few years earlier for Caterina's cousin by marriage, Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere. The Loreto decorative program featured illusionistically painted antique-style architectural decorations as the backdrop for the dramatically foreshortened figures of prophets,

seated with their books, and angels, who hover in the air carry ing the symbols of Christ's Passion. In both cases, the intricately painted architecture and foreshortened figures transformed the smooth surface of the actual dome; the *trompe l'oeil* effects were stunning.

4.7 Marco Palmezzano, *Martyrdom of Saint James*, Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in San Biagio, Forlì. *c*. 1495

The lower walls of the Feo Chapel displayed a hagiographical cycle of Giacomo Feo's name saint, James the Greater, and *all'antica* decorations. While Melozzo may have planned these lower scenes, Marco Palmezzano painted them. Three scenes from the life of Saint James unfolded within an elaborate painted framework of fictive architecture that featured pilasters and a frieze painted with *groteschi*, *putti*, busts of saints, animals, flowers, and arabesques. The image that once appeared in an abbreviated lunette on the altar wall was already severely deteriorated when it was photographed and only a few figures on the margins—onlookers—are legible. This image may have presented one of the traditionally depicted stories from the early life of the saint, such as his calling or preaching, or perhaps his miraculous conversion of the once vehemently pagan magician Hermogenes.[57] Another scene in the cycle may have been painted on

the wall that was destroyed when the Feo Chapel was joined with the adjacent Ordelaffi Chapel.

The west wall of the Feo Chapel was better preserved, although some aspects of its iconography remain unclear. The saint's martyrdom appeared in two episodes on the lower register of the wall to the right of the chapel entrance (Illustration 4.7). The artist divided the scene with a framework of illusionistic architecture, specifically two vaults of a classically inspired loggia painted in one-point perspective.[58] The story proceeded from left to right: two men conversed in the left foreground and one of them looked out to the viewers to catch their eyes, a standard Albertian method of engaging the viewer and leading them into a work. Under the same vault, the saint appeared astride a horse with a man on foot at his side; under the right-hand arch, James prayed on his knees as his executioner raised his sword, and several soldiers looked on. While the martyrdom was straightforward, the first scene may have referred to James's travels during his life. If so, the secondary figure was perhaps his now-faithful companion Hermogenes. On both sides of the fresco, the rational order of the architecture established a sense of calmness, a feeling underscored by the idyllic landscape that unfolded beyond the loggia. Only the trees hinted at the events in the foreground—on the left, they flourished, covered with leaves as Saint James went about his ministry, while on the right, they were barren and dead, just like the martyred saint.

In the lunette above the martyrdom, the cycle concluded with what has long been understood as the posthumous miracle of Saint James that concerned pilgrims on their way to his shrine in Santiago de Compostela, Spain. The iconography of the main lunette in the Feo Chapel, however, does not exactly follow the legend of the saint's resurrection of an unfairly accused and executed young pilgrim (Illustration 4.8). According to the story, the boy was traveling to the saint's shrine with his father, and they stopped at a hostel in southern France. One of the locals accused them of stealing a silver object. After a quick trial, the son was hanged for the crime, and the father proceeded on with his journey. On his way back, he returned to the town and saw the boy's body still hanging on the gallows. He was still alive, sustained by Saint James. The father took his son down and the man who had falsely accused him was hanged instead. In the lunette of the Feo Chapel, two parents, dressed modestly and carrying walking staffs as well as a purse with the shell of Santiago, replaced the character of the father. They knelt at the center in front of a table

presided over by a man wearing an exotic hat. Several onlookers gestured toward two birds standing on the table. The artist seems to have followed a variant of the legend in which the pilgrim pleaded for mercy from the town's mayor while his son was dying.[59] At the very moment that the mayor stated that the child was as dead as the two roosters roasting on a spit nearby, the birds miraculously started crowing and the son was similarly revived. A pair of men one young, the other old, appeared in the upper right corner of the lunette; the youth, who gestured toward the main group of figures, could have been the revived son, ready to join his family below.

4.8 Marco Palmezzano, *Posthumous Miracle of Saint James the Greater,* Feo Chapel, San Girolamo in San Biagio, Forlì, *c.* 1495

Although the Feo lunette seemed to have referred to this miracle, the scene did not include some traditional iconography, such as an image of Saint James holding up the feet of the boy on the gallows. Furthermore, there were several characters whose identities do not fit into the story. The older man pointing toward the birds did not resemble a mayor; he wears an exotic turban and luxurious robes, both of which imply some sort of foreign or "other" status. A well-dressed young man in eye-catching bi-colored stockings accompanied him in the foreground. Two more subsidiary figures sported conical

hats or turbans. The exotic clothing might have been in reference to Saint James's legend as the good Christian knight who posthumously aided the fight against the Muslim forces occupying Spain. The fresco then became a more general reference to the division between good and evil: the modestly dressed, humble pilgrims dominated the right-hand side of the lunette, and on the left were the exotic, worldly "others," painted with enough ambiguity so that they could have referred to Muslims or perhaps Jews. Beyond this dichotomy, there were other figures with unknown roles, such as those who conversed around a large column in the background. Were they on-lookers or were they fundamental to the story? The closest chronological and geographical precedent to the Feo Chapel frescoes—the cycle of Saint James the Greater painted in 1448 by Andrea Mantegna in the Ovetari Chapel in the church of the Eremitani in Padua, also, coincidently, destroyed in 1944—sheds no light on the matter.[60] Mantegna's six scenes concerned only events from the lifetime of the saint and no posthumous miracles. Although it seems that the Paduan cycle may have inspired aspects of the Forlivesi artists' version of the saint's life, such as the classical motifs in the architectural framework and the virtuoso perspective and foreshortening, it did not influence the strange miracle scene. Nor did the lunette fresco in the Feo Chapel include an image of the saint that closely corresponded to his depiction in the martyrdom episode, an omission that further implies that this was a posthumous story; even so, its iconography remains perplexing.

The details of the chapel's iconography suggest that Caterina may have played a role in its production. Several portraits seem to have been integrated into the scene of the posthumous miracle. This was a common occurrence in family chapels beginning in the fifteenth century. The kneeling pilgrims in particular seem to have been portraits, and the profile of the female pilgrim bore a striking resemblance to Caterina's on her portrait medal of *c.* 1488 (Illustration 1.7). In addition to physiognomic similarities, both women were veiled in a similar fashion—the veil of pilgrimage and piety is the veil of widowhood. By kneeling in submission to the magistrate and in awe of the miracle, the woman enacted the traditional pose of a donor. If this was indeed a portrait of Caterina, the figure potentially embodied both the contemporary donor and the historical witness. Did Caterina add her portrait to this scene to record her role as donor? If so, was it because she might have taken over the commission after Giacomo died? If she contributed to the chapel, did she influence its

iconography?

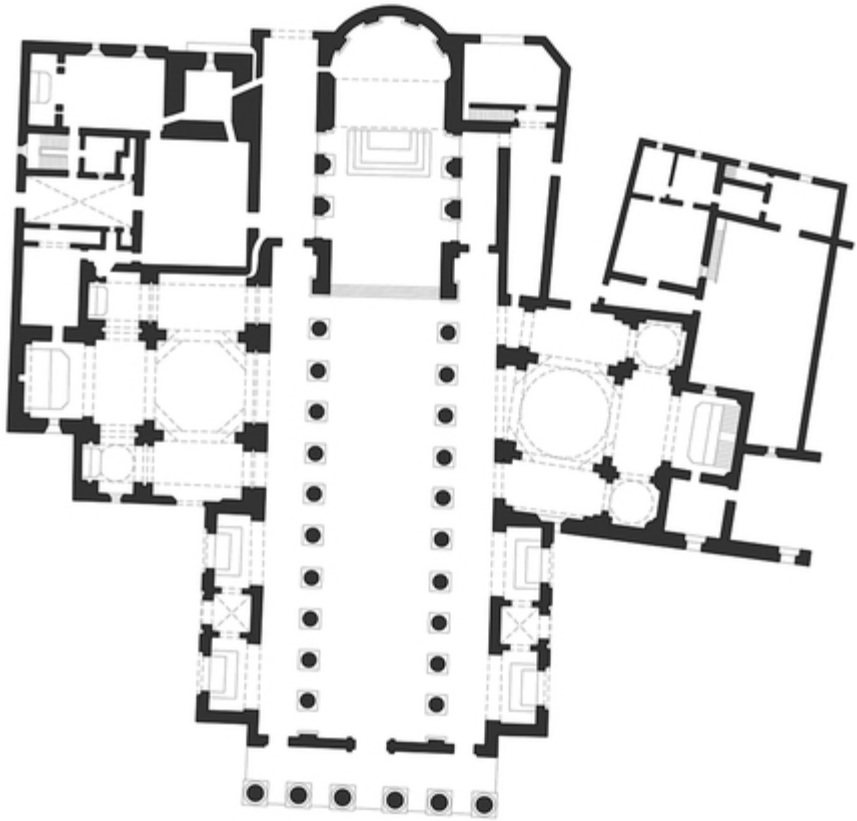
Answers to these questions depend on the chronology of the chapel's decoration which is, in turn dependent on the possibility that Melozzo da Forlì worked in the space before his death late in 1494. If he did, and then work stopped for several months after he died, the chapel could have been incomplete when Giacomo Feo died the following summer. Caterina, working alone or with the Feo family, may then have overseen the work and added her portrait.[61] The veiled woman resembled a widow and, if it was Caterina, whose widow was she, Girolamo's or Giacomo's? She knelt next to a man, who was he? If the chapel was instead completed before Giacomo's death, who did this couple commemorate? Could it have been that Giacomo was trying to curry favor with Caterina by including her portrait alongside his own in the chapel? This is another common motif in Renaissance-era chapels, seen in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità in Florence, where members of the powerful Medici family appear alongside the Sassetti. Caterina had, after all, advanced Giacomo's career significantly and so enabled him to rise in status and amass enough money to build the chapel. If the chapel was completed after his death, were the stories chosen or altered to reflect the circumstances of his murder? Two of the three scenes dealt with the wrongful deaths of faithful Christians, who both eventually received justice: the martyred James became a powerful saint and intercessor and the executed pilgrim was revived. Visually, the image of Saint James on horseback, riding toward his execution, echoed the circumstances of Giacomo's assassination, which occurred as he returned on horseback from a hunt. Caterina's violent reaction to his death made clear that she thought he was unjustly murdered, and the public knew she organized his funeral. If she ordered her portrait to be included in the Feo Chapel it would similarly have been a public act, a record of at least her support of Giacomo, her courtier and political ally, and proof of her pious works for the church of San Girolamo. Without documentation, there may be no definitive resolution for these questions.

Pious Acts

If Caterina's possible role as patron of the Feo Chapel would have been a rather public manifestation of her relationship with Giacomo, it was,

perhaps more importantly, proof of her on-going piety and beneficence. In 1495, she wrote to her uncle Lodovico Sforza that she did not concern herself with "ecclesiastical things."[62] In this case, she wanted to avoid the tiresome responsibility of punishing some misbehaving friars from Forlì. But Caterina was clearly interested in developing her own spirituality throughout her life and nurturing several religious foundations during her regency and widowhood. Her special request to enter, hear mass, eat, and stay the night in convents, a right granted to her by Sixtus IV in 1479, demonstrates her early desire for spiritual retreat.[63] Throughout her adult life, she maintained a religious advisor, who no doubt counseled her on spiritual matters and probably influenced some of her choices for patronage. During her marriage to Girolamo, Giovanni Francesco Broccardi, the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Imola, served in this capacity; later, the friar Francesco Fortunati advised her. Fortunati even chose to be imprisoned with Caterina in Rome (1500–1501), and remained a part of her entourage until her death and later oversaw the tutelage of her son Giovanni di Giovanni de' Medici.[64]

As regent, Caterina demonstrated the appropriate devotion to local saints and support of religious institutions. She carried on the patronage begun by Girolamo at foundations in Imola and Forlì, but she also endowed some others. Caterina continued to attend the church of San Mercuriale as her parish church in Forlì, just as the family had done during Girolamo's life. The local saint to whom the church was dedicated was important to her own history: she and her son Ottaviano had celebrated their victory after the chaos of Girolamo's murder on the saint's feast day in 1488. In fact, according to the local chronicler Leone Cobelli, Caterina's piety influenced her decision to stop the bombardment of the town from the Rocca di Ravaldino in time to prepare to celebrate the important feast day.[65] Three years later, in May 1491, Caterina donated to the church a new cope, a chasuble, and a *paliotto,* or altar frontal. Women often donated textiles and vestments to churches in part because needlework was considered



4.9 Plan of the Cathedral of Forlì

appropriate work for them. Caterina did not make these textiles herself, nor was she solely responsible for their purchase. She was able to pay for the vestments, but the silver brocade *paliotto*, which measured fifteen *braccia* (about nine meters), was too expensive at ninety gold ducats for her to finance alone. Instead, she asked the citizens of Forlì to contribute. The new frontal replaced an older model and served as a memorial not only to "the good memory of our signore count Girolaino" but also "all the souls of the community."[66] With this donation, Caterina asked the Forlivesi to conflate homage of their patron saint and ancestors with that of the deposed ruler, and by default, to demonstrate support of his widow and successor. Girolamo became one of the fallen citizens, worthy of commemoration, and Caterina the good regent and patron who instigated this community effort. Caterina further supported San Mercuriale throughout her regency by donating alms to the church to help to the poor. She supplied grain for the priests to distribute to the hungry in years of

famine and thereby combined her civic duty to feed the poor with religious charity, the parish church serving as an intermediary in a mutually beneficial transaction.[67]

Caterina enlisted the support of the community for other large-scale religious projects, specifically, the building of chapels dedicated to two local cults of the Virgin Mary in Forlì and Imola. Although the chronicler Bernardi declared that Caterina never again set foot into the Cathedral of Forlì after the canons there mistreated Girolamo's body, he offered evidence that Caterina was one of the major contributors to the building of the Chapel of the Madonna della Ferità, the new chapel of the canons (begun 1490; Illustration 4.9).[68] Located off the southern (right-hand) aisle of the cathedral, the centrally planned chapel housed the miracle-working image of the Madonna della Ferità, an anonymous fifteenth-century fresco. Caterina donated money and urged the Forlivesi to do the same; she also may have requested indulgences for the cathedral to raise more money. She probably did not play a part in the chapel's design, but her donation demonstrates her involvement in honoring and encouraging an important local cult in her city. She was also instrumental in the construction of the shrine of the Madonna del Piratello, on the outskirts of Imola (Illustration 4.10).[69] A small oratory, overseen by Franciscan tertiaries, already marked the location where the Virgin had appeared to a pilgrim in the 1480s. Caterina called for donations to build a larger chapel to commemorate the spot more appropriately.[70] Although she initiated the idea of building the shrine, the exact amount of money she donated is unknown. She did pay for the casting of a large and expensive bronze bell, which was installed in February 1492. The bell displayed Caterina's Riario-Sforza coat of arms and her personal seal; it was destroyed in 1874 and Pier Desiderio Pasolini later published a photograph of the emblems in his biography of Caterina.[71] Her eighteenth-century biographer Antonio Burriel concluded after reviewing now-lost documents that she financed the chapel's bell tower in addition to the bell.[72]

The ramifications of this patronage in both Imola and Forlì were more than a personal expression of faith. As regent, Caterina encouraged these cults to build the local financial and spiritual economy, and she set an example to her subjects for their own donations. Her call for community support masked her own inability to finance the projects entirely herself, and was ultimately good politics. The churches could collect the money they needed to complete their works in ways that enforced ties among the ruling

family and the religious and lay communities. Caterina's support showed her benevolence on a local level, and her choice of honoring two burgeoning cults indicated her knowledge of current spiritual concerns.

Caterina's interest in newly formed religious organizations included the recently established convent of Santa Maria della Ripa. Girolamo had helped institute the convent of Franciscan nuns in the 1480s, and she continued in his advocacy. In 1492 she requested indulgences for the convent; they were granted in 1493 for three years, and the proceeds went toward expanding the complex,

4.10 Madonna del Piratello, Imola

finishing the cloister, and furnishing its interior.[73] The completed convent was finally consecrated on 7 May 1497.[74] Two of the convent's nuns wrote to Caterina in June 1508 voicing their nostalgia for her visits and kind attention. The Sisters Domicella and Elena implored her for help, and told her of the convent's growing poverty and the nuns' suffering in the winter due to a lack of clothing.[75] No response seems to survive, but the initial letter attests to the special interest Caterina had once taken in Santa Maria della Ripa while she

was in Forlì.

Caterina's assistance to Santa Maria della Ripa and other church institutions was in some ways an extension of Girolamo's patronage, but she only selectively followed her husband's model. Caterina continued to support the nuns at Santa Chiara in Forlì, the convent Girolamo had annually honored to show his gratitude for Saint Clare's aid during the earthquakes in 1483. The abbess Beatrice called upon Caterina's aid in 1496, and a new abbess. Antonia, thanked her for a significant gift of grain in 1498.[76] In contrast, Caterina did not continue her husband's patronage of two other Franciscan foundations. The only instance of her contact with the monks at San Francesco in Forlì was the help she gave them when they were robbed in 1498: she ordered an extensive search for the stolen goods.[77] She had little to do with the church of the Osservanza in Imola, which enjoyed the patronage of high-ranking Riario courtiers.[78] Both of these churches had other patrons to support them, and so Caterina turned her attention to foundations that were in greater need or more attuned to her spiritual interests.

Caterina's support for religious women was not just a local endeavor during her regency. She had contact with Sister Girolama, the prioress of San Benedetto in Urbino, who wrote in 1496 requesting her aid for the convent.[79] More important was Caterina's relationship with a convent in Florence. She started corresponding with the abbess at Le Murate in the early 1490s, and was sending grain to the Benedictine nuns by the end of the decade.[80] She might have heard about the convent from one of her peers, or been solicited directly by the abbess. The Murate enjoyed the patronage of women from some of the most powerful families in Florence, including the Medici, Benci, and Lenzi, and the nuns themselves hailed from elite society. In the late fifteenth century, the convent expanded its circle of patronage to include the Este of Ferrara and even the King and Queen of Portugal.[81] Twice in 1499 the Murate nuns sent Caterina a box of flowers and fruit from the convent's garden to thank her for the grain and other sustenance she had given to them. In her responses to abbess's letters, Caterina asked the nuns to stop sending her gifts since they were too great an expense; she wanted the sisters pray for her instead.[82] While in the same league with the many other nobles who supported the convent, it seems that Caterina wanted to keep her patronage private, and perhaps separate from her more politically motivated commissions in Imola and Forlì.

Caterina turned to Florence for spiritual matters in another

instance, this time for advice from the infamously ascetic Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola in the monastery of San Marco. Her queries to him, like her patronage of the Murate, were largely private matters of spirituality. Only one letter to her from the monk survives, and he clearly was responding to her questions. He wrote on 18 June 1497:

> In your ladyship's desire, as you indicate in your letters, to seek refuge in God and to be helped by him, especially in the dangerous times that are upon us ... I believe you are well advised and moved by God .... So, to put this into effect, I encourage Your Lady ship to be good and to be truly contrite for your sins, redeeming them with works of charity, that is, by giving alms to the poor, because alms giving extinguishes sins just as water extinguishes fire, and above all take every care and be prompt in administering justice to your subjects and have recourse with all your heart to the most merciful God.[83]

And so Savonarola advised Caterina to confess her sins, perform pious works, and give alms to the poor in order to gain divine aid in times of crisis. These aspects of his advice, to confess her sins and give to the poor, are generic, something any friar would advise a supplicant. But he also counsels her to be a just and careful ruler, and so acknowledges her political status as regent of Imola and Forlì.[84] Savonarola does not offer Caterina any advice regarding widowhood, a curious omission since he wrote a treatise on the behavior of widows and had much to say about their comportment. In his *Book on the Widow's Life* (1491), Savonarola urged widows to live in solitude, dress modestly, wear a veil, abstain from all earthly pleasures, and pray continuously.[85] In other words, they should live and look like a nun. Neither these recommendations nor any moral admonishment appear in his letter, which suggests that Savonarola well understood the larger context of Caterina's political position and was happy to try to improve the behavior of Christian rulers. She had written to him for his spiritual advice, which he gave her. On the other hand, Savonarola probably would not have been as supportive of Caterina's humanist interests, such as astrology and science, which he considered detrimental to leading a proper Christian life.

Humanism in the Riario Court

In the fifteenth century, humanism was fast becoming a fundamental

pursuit within elite culture, a virtue of the intellect to accompany the well-established virtue of the spirit, Christian piety. The ideal princely character required a demonstration of mental prowess, and knowledge of culture and events from the past and present were now essential. New interest in the study of ancient and pagan cultures expanded the realm of scholarship beyond basic theological texts, and learned men —humanists—became crucial to intellectual and elite culture.[86] Since 1204, when European troops sacked Constantinople as part of the fourth crusade, the Greek and Latin scholars that had once thrived in that center of intellectual culture had been migrating to the Italian peninsula in search of more secure work. When Constantinople fell to Turkish forces in 1453, even more scholars fled to Italian principalities and cities and so disseminated their sophisticated scholarship and philosophy. Large and wealthy courts, like those in Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino, retained courtiers known for their intellectual capabilities, including humanists, scientists, and astrologers, who wrote orations and poetry, oversaw experiments, forecasted the future, and provided entertainment. Resident scholars tutored children, provided stimulating conversation, and offered advice on patronage and collecting pursuits. Humanists would also produce their own works, usually dedicated with praise to their patrons. Through their patronage, the elite could assert their familiarity with ancient texts as well as nurture contemporary poetry and prose and new inquiries into the material and heavenly realms. Elites drew upon this knowledge of the classical past and current trends in their daily and ceremonial activities and when collecting of works of art.

Humanist culture flourished in the court of Girolamo Riario's uncle, Pope Sixtus IV. Under his rule, the extensive collections housed in the papal library opened, and the dedicatory fresco, by Melozzo da Forlì, presents a seated Sixtus surrounded by his favorite nephews, the librarian and humanist Platina, and an elaborate system of Active architecture that emulated classical motifs and ideals (Illustration 1.1). Girolamo stands to the left, wearing the Riario family colors of blue and gold. His presence in the image shows the favor he enjoyed from his uncle and his tacit endorsement of the library project. Girolamo was one of several papal nephews who followed Sixtus's lead in intellectual matters. Girolamo's brother Pietro supported humanist scholars, collected ancient and contemporary texts as well as expensive antiquities and contemporary works of art, and staged classically inspired celebrations.[87] His cousin Raffaelle Riario, the youngest among Sixtus's nephews, was also deeply involved with

humanist pursuits and built a grand Renaissance palace, now the Cancelleria, just off the Campo dei Fiori in Rome.[88] Extravagance marked Pietro's and Raffaele's lives, and both spent much money pursing humanist culture.

Like his relatives, Girolamo Riario demonstrated his humanist interests through his architectural projects. He turned to humanists when building his palace in Rome and planning his reurbanization of Imola, two very public projects explored in Chapter 2. The famous mathematician Luca Pacioli was present at the Palazzo Riario while it was under construction and his ideas might have appeared in the decorative program if Girolamo had had his way. As Pacioli related in *Divina Proportione* (1509), Girolamo wanted some of the capitals that punctuated the building's vaulting to resemble the mathematician's famous polyhedrons. His master stone-carver assured him they could be done, but after many tries, he was unable to reproduce the complicated shapes and had mined many pieces of stone. The story was a means for Pacioli to emphasize the complexity of his geometric forms, but the incident nonetheless demonstrates Girolamo's interest in the mathematician's ideas, even if his stone-carver underestimated their difficultly.[89] Girolamo does not seem to have nurtured Luca Pacioli beyond the palace incident. He did engage Melozzo da Forlì, known for his classicizing style, to design and paint the frescoes that stretched floor-to-ceiling in the large *Sal a dei Notabili* in the Palazzo Riario in Rome. The decorative program adheres closely to Alberti's recommendations for the embellishment of the proper elite home and so stands as proof of Girolamo's familiarity with current trends in scholarship relating at least to home improvement. Girolamo might have retained or consulted with other humanists for his architectural projects; his commissions in Rome and Imola offer ample evidence of his interest in humanist ideals.

Intellectuals advised Girolamo and his family on the important ceremonies associated with courtly life. Astrologers consulted the planets and personal horoscopes to determine the best timing and circumstances of Caterina's entrances into Imola and Rome in 1477 as well as the family's entrances into Imola and Forlì in 1481; these public events were loaded with political significance and they needed to proceed smoothly and effectively.[90] During the 1481 ceremonies at Forlì, Girolamo threw coins that featured the portrait of Philip II of Macedonia to the crowds; with this small object, Girolamo was able to cast himself as the modern epitome of the famous ancient ruler and demonstrated his knowledge of the past (Illustration 1.4). These

events and objects, as well as the classicizing architectural projects, are the outward signs, the splendor and magnificence, of humanism. In contrast, it seems that Girolamo did not pursue a life of the mind to the extent that he amassed a large library or sponsored scholars. The earliest partial inventory of the Riario household in 1490 does not contain any references to classical texts.[91] The document only accounted for goods being sent into consignment, and it could be that the humanist books were kept by the family, but few non-religious texts appear in later inventories. Girolamo had turned down the opportunity to support the humanist scholars who had once enjoyed the patronage of his brother Pietro. After Pietro died, the humanist scholars Porcellio Pandone and Emilio Boccabella each wrote an *economia* of him and dedicated it to Girolamo in the hope that he would fund future writings.[92] Although he surely appreciated the works, Girolamo did not to bring either of these men into his courtly circle, and little information survives regarding his other possible intellectual endeavors. There is clearer evidence of Caterina's humanist interests during her rule.

Once established in her regency, Caterina cultivated her own intellectual pursuits. Soon after Girolaino's death, an unknown humanist wrote a lament that extolled his virtues and mourned his loss.[93] The poet probably hoped the brief poem would catch the ear of Caterina or her son Ottaviano and lead to a social or political favor, but it seems nothing came of this. Once the political situation had settled down in the early 1490s, Caterina was better able to promote humanism within her court and in her territories. As Jacopo Foresti stated in his biography, she concentrated on the education of her children, but her interests reached beyond her immediate family to include public education in her goals. She hired Nicolò Ferretti, a humanist from nearby Ravenna, to teach in a Forlivese school in 1494.[94] The following year Ferretti expressed his gratitude for the position with two new works. He wrote an elegy for Ottaviano Riario in which he praised him as ruler of Imola and Forlì and he dedicated his grammar book, *De elegantia linguae latiniae servanda in epistolis et orationibus componendis,* to him as well.[95] The colophon page of the book features a woodcut print that depicts the heroic classical character

DE ELEGANTIA LINGVAE LATINAE SERVANDA IN EPISTOLIS: ET ORATIONIBVS COMPONENDIS: præcepta ſumpta ex auctoribus probatiſſimis. etiam de compoſitione oſium præpoſitionum latinaꝝ & earum ſignificatione.
Hoc opus eſt Impreſſum Forliuii per me Hieronymum Medeſanum Parmenſem: nouiterq; ꝓ ipſum Auctorem correptum aditum & emendatum Anno domini. M.CCCCLXXXXV. die uero. xxv. Maí Regnante Illuſtriſſimo Prīcipi noſtro domino Octauiano de Riario: ac Inclito domino Iacobo Pheo guberna tori digniſſimo.

4.11 *Hercules battling a Centaur,* colophon (sig. e4v) in Nicolò Ferretti, *De elegantia linguae latiniae servanda in epistolis et orationibus componendis* (Forlì, 1495)

Hercules battling and overcoming a centaur, a long-standing symbol of lust and drunkenness, while three ladies look on (Illustration 4.11). The woman at the front of the group wears a crown and this figure may be a veiled reference to Caterina. The image offers a clear moral of the triumph of intelligence and perseverance over more base instincts, a complement to upstanding behavior. In addition to school teachers, the Riario court had always required several scholars who served as secretaries and kept up with correspondence; they also probably advised Girolamo and later Caterina on political and

intellectual matters. After Caterina lost the territories in 1500, she was able to rehire some of them. For instance, both Antonio dei Numai and Antonio Baldraccani had served as her secretaries in Forlì, and later they became her son Giovanni's tutors.[96]

The most prominent humanist in Caterina's regency court was Michele Marullo, a scholar and poet originally from Constantinople who had been a student of Giovanni Pontano in Naples and a colleague of Poliziano in Florence. Marullo enjoyed the patronage of Giovanni and Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and several other nobles in Italy, including Antonello Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, and Elisabetta Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino. He came to Forlì in the late 1490s as part of Giovanni de' Medici's entourage.[97] After Giovanni's death in 1498, the humanist remained in the Riario court. He does not seem to have dedicated any of his works to Caterina, but he likely served as a secretary and advisor to her. When she was under siege from Cesare Boigia, Marullo's role in Forlì expanded from scholar and advisor to man-of-arms and he fought alongside her in the Rocca di Ravaldino until Borgia's forces finally overcame them.[98] This was fairly common—humanists had to perform multiple duties within the court to justify their salary; Pontano had gone to battle with King Alfonso I while serving in the Neapolitan court.[99] Even if he had so desired, Marullo never had the chance to write of Caterina's valor in battle: he died later in 1500 while serving in the Florentine army.

Caterina's calculating decisions during her rise to power and her activities as regent inspired other authors to write of her virtues and bravery. Jacopo Foresti included a biography of Caterina, already excerpted throughout this book, in his lives of famous women *De Claris Selectisque Mulieribus*, published in Ferrara in 1497 and modeled on Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (1361).[100] This was her first official biography, and Foresti may have had some contact with her. He was certainly familiar with the events of her life. Foresti had been the Prior of the Augustinian Canons at the cathedrals of Imola in 1494 and Forlì in 1496. His account of Caterina's life centers on the events that followed her husband Girolamo Riario's death and her regency, the pivotal moments that allowed her to become so famous. As is typical of the genre, his biographies are full of diplomatic rhetoric. Foresti's words adhere to a distinct formula of aggrandizement that negotiates the tensions between women's adherence to traditional feminine virtues, such as beauty and piety, and their exceptionality, as demonstrated by more masculine traits, such as a strong force of will, intelligence, and constancy. He especially emphasized the masculine

qualities of Caterina and other women who wielded political power in history. They participated in a masculine realm, and so their success required assessment in masculine terms. For instance, Caterina showed "a steadfastness and great-spiritedness characteristic of men [when she] succeeded her own husband ... just like Semiramide, queen of the Assyrians."[101] Although based on an earlier prototype, Foresti integrated more contemporary women into his biographies than Boccaccio and so acknowledged the significance of the power of women in his own times.

Foresti did not ignore Caterina's feminine qualities, and offered unrestrained praise of her appearance: "Indeed this Catherine is the most beautiful among the women of our generation with an elegant look to her, and [she] is magnificently adorned over her whole body." But his incredulousness over her political triumph in 1488 betrays a level of skepticism. After she took over the Rocca di Ravaldino and would not surrender, "like a man she cast away those womanly tears, and took care to show her prudence, her greatness of spirit against the incensed and raging populace .... It was a remarkable thing, and unbelievable when you hear it, to have seen this girl of 24 years, brought up constantly in a dainty lifestyle and inexperienced in this sort of chaos, make a stand in a place where even the stouthearted normally tremble." This hints at the misogyny that permeates Foresti's praise of Caterina and other courageous women. Regarding her alignment against the French in 1494, he commented, "This action, as it is not usual for women to uphold a promise, if it is investigated properly, seems to bring to light a clear sign of a very great miracle."[102] With this brief and stylized biography, Foresti laid the groundwork for the exceptional woman motif that dominated Caterina's legend after her death.

Caterina's political endeavors were understandably of great interest, and they prompted another local scholar, Antonio Urceo, to debate in verse both Caterina's ability to rule and her feminine charms. Like Foresti, Urceo's Latin poem engages in the popular humanist conceit of comparing his subject to ancient role models and places Caterina in the company of several famous women such as Diana, goddess of the hunt and famous for her chastity, and Dido, the founder and first queen of Carthage.[103] Urceo had taught grammar in Forlì for ten years, and Pino Ordelaffi, the ruler of the city prior to the Riario, appointed him as his son's tutor. He later became a professor of grammar and locution at the University of Bologna, where he stayed until he died in 1500. The poem he dedicated to Caterina is a model

of humanist praise—at once a tribute to her virtues and a demonstration of the author's knowledge of ancient history and myth. His short poem lionizes Caterina with a succinct clarity and elegance lacking in Foresti's biography. Despite their works, neither Urceo nor Foresti were the direct recipients of Caterina'a patronage.

Even if she had limited funds to cultivate humanists, Caterina expanded the library of the Riario court during her regency. She most likely owned the books that were dedicated to her and she probably had copies of the books and poems that extolled her life and rule. Her library contained several other manuscripts that speak further to her intellectual tastes. Most of them are religious texts, in keeping with Jacopo Foresti's assessment of how she trained her children in theological truths. The inventories of her possessions over the years describe several Psalters, various Books of Hours, and more specific Epistles, like the writings of St. Jerome.[104] Caterina did possess at least a few humanist books, including an "intact" book of Virgil, which appears in the inventories of her household in both 1502 and 1509.[105] She also had a collection of the Odes of Horace, now in the Austrian National Library and identified by her quartered coat of arms on the frontispiece.[106] This book was probably a wedding gift from someone in the Milanese court, where it was produced sometime before 1448 (Illustration 3.9). The Odes elaborated on the joys of youth, romance, and good living, and on patriotism, religion, and philosophy, and so were an appropriate wedding gift for a well-educated young woman. The fact they are in Latin suggests that Caterina had at least some training in that language, or at least the pretensions to cherish such a book; the manuscript itself does not bear the usual markers of heavy use, so her interest in the poems is questionable. Caterina also owned a music book, liked to listen to music during meals, and maintained two musicians (*tamborini*) who played while she ate.[107] In short, her small collection of books covers a range of subjects appropriate to a learned and pious noble woman.

Caterina's library also included more scientific materials. She was particularly fascinated by scholarship regarding astrology, alchemy, and other scientific advancements. Her curiosity in the stars was well known: in 1496 her neighbor Astorre Manfredi, ruler of Faenza, presented her with a meteor, one of several that had fallen in his territories.[108] Two years later, Lucio Bellante, a famous Sienese mathematician and astrologer, further acknowledged her interests when he dedicated his *Liber de astrologica veritate* to her.[109] The book presents an imaginary discussion in which Bellante defends the value

of the knowledge offered by astrological studies and its ability to be reconciled with Christianity from the doubts cast on the field by fellow humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.[110] The Active debate format was popular for intellectual discourse and allowed scholars to control both sides of the argument while it demonstrated their prowess and understanding of conflicting positions. Bellante rightfully assumed that Caterina would be sympathetic to his arguments over the validity of the study of the stars. After all, she had asked astrologers to make recommendations regarding events and activities according to their charting of the planets.

While a reflection of her intellectual pursuits, Caterina's interest in science and alchemy was quite practical. Like other men and women of her time, she sought out cures for common ailments and effective beauty treatments. She probably had formulas mixed in her court kitchens, using the various herbs and roots harvested from the gardens adjacent to her palace at the Rocca di Ravaldino. She also turned to local dealers for help. She regularly purchased herbal remedies from Lodovico Albertini. a Forlivese *speziale* (spice and herb dealer), and continued to use his services even after she left the Romagna region.[111] She found another local source in the nuns at the convent of Santa Maria della Ripa in Forlì, who provided her with a tonic for hair removal.[112] In addition, she searched outside her territories for reliable medicines. In 1504, a Frate Bernardino di Gariboldi in Fiorenzuola sent Caterina three small flasks of "acqua celeste" to cure headaches and liver problems.[113] A few years later, a Roman woman, Anna Hebrea, sent her face creams with instructions on how to use them properly.[114] Caterina oversaw the health and well-being of her family with these tonics and creams. In 1508, her daughter Bianca wrote asking if she would make her two flasks of pine water (*acqua de pigne*).[115] Caterina's scientific interests were also alchemical in nature. In 1504, an unknown person sent her a "polish" (*an lustro*) for the face, presumably a cream or powder, and asked in return for her recipe for making nineteen-carat gold from base metal.[116]

Over her lifetime, Caterina compiled her experiments in an ever-expanding file. In the 1520s, Lucantonio Cuppano, a soldier under the command of Caterina's son Giovanni de' Medici, transcribed a book of health, beauty, and alchemical recipes. The original he worked from is now lost, but scholars have long considered this to be a record of Caterina's own collection of formulas.[117] Other documents prove her interest in similar remedies, and the fact that the book was copied by one of her son's subordinates suggests that they may be her recipes;

she left her Florentine possessions to Giovanni, including a number of boxes of papers.[118] The transcribed book contains hundreds of recipes. Sixty-six are beauty formulas for various waters to smooth, whiten, or purify the skin, mixtures to grow or bleach hair, creams to remove unwanted hair or darken the beard, and oils and unguents to brighten the skin. Caterina was famous for her smooth skin and blonde hair, and these recipes might have been among her secrets for maintaining her looks. Most of the 358 formulas address health issues, such as how to clean and whiten the teeth, get rid of gum problems in the mouth, soothe a stomach- or backache, and prevent or cure the plague. While many of these recipes were probably ineffective, some might have been useful. They call to mind what seems to be a timeless preoccupation with creams and lotions to beautify the body, and a willingness to try almost anything and spare no expense in the quest. In addition, the book outlines chemical formulas (30 in all) for transforming base metal into gold and for increasing the weight, and therefore the value, of common coins. It also includes recipes for poison. In 1499, when Caterina might have sent Pope Alexander VI a poisoned letter, she perhaps drew upon one of these formulas.[119] In any case, Caterina continued to cultivate an interest in scientific endeavors and keep up with the latest scientific and medical advances after her fall from power.

Caterina Sforza's Post-regency Intellectual and Spiritual Patronage

Caterina Sforza's post-regency intellectual and spiritual endeavors differed in scope from her earlier works. After her defeat by Cesare Borgia in 1500, she curtailed much of her support, with the exception of select religious endeavors. Without the taxes and tariffs and the sales of grain from the family's territories, her income was greatly reduced. In addition, she no longer enjoyed a public status as ruler-regent, a role that necessitated a high level of public beneficence. Her religious patronage now became more private and personal in nature, but she still closely adhered to ideals of female conduct.

Caterina strengthened her ties to the Murate convent after she moved to Florence in 1501.[120] She eventually built and maintained a cell just off the convent's courtyard where she could spend time away from worldly concerns. Noble women often retreated to a convent for

spiritual succor. Upon widowhood, some withdrew from public life completely and entered a convent, taking religious orders. Caterina paved the way for secular women to visit the Murate in a more permanent fashion: her private cell was the first of what would become several rooms reserved for lay women within the convent's walls. These women required papal permission to enter the convent, a privilege that Sixtus IV had granted Caterina back in 1479.[121] She lived at the Murate periodically until her death, and during these years, she donated a painting of the Virgin that hung in the sacristy.[122] She also introduced a younger generation of Riario women to the nuns. In the early 1500s, she placed her son Ottaviano's daughter Corneila and her son Galeazzo's daughter Giulia in the care of the Murate: both had been living with Caterina, but she decided that the nuns could better educate them.[123]

Caterina's actions consistently underscored the close ties between the elite and the monastic orders, especially in matters that pertain to education and the maintenance of decorum. She had temporarily placed two of her children in other convents in Florence. First, she sent her eldest child, Bianca, to the Camaldolite Benedictine convent of Sant'Agata for protection when the Riario territories were under siege in 1499. Bianca was twenty-two when she entered the convent and she stayed there, properly chaperoned, until her mother was released from prison and could arrange for her marriage.[124] Caterina could not send her daughter to her Sforza relatives in Milan because they were under siege from France, and a Florentine foundation made sense since all of her children had gained local citizenship in 1498. She turned to another Florentine convent for the protection of her youngest child after she was released from prison. She hid Giovanni de' Medici, dressed as a girl, for eight months in the convent of the Annalena while she battled with Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici over the boy's inheritance in the early 1500s.[125] She apparently feared that Lorenzo would try to kidnap or even murder the child in order to claim his inheritance for his own sons. This version of events emerged in later biographies of Giovanni and does not seem to have contemporary documentation, but whether the stoiy is true or not, the nuns at the Annalena convent won the patronage of Giovanni's descendants, the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, who remembered the nuns' loyalty.[126]

Even if she could not support intellectual endeavors as she once had, Caterina continued to inspire scholars who wrote of her virtues after her defeat. She was still famous for her regency rule, and was

fast becoming a legend in her own time. She was one of the few rulers within the Papal States who did not flee Cesare Borgia during his conquest, and her valiant behavior aroused sympathetic responses. A fifty-verse poem, the "Lament of Caterina Sforza Riario," signed by a Marsilio Compagnon, celebrates her triumphs as it mourns her downfall. The lines "Listen to this unconsolable Caterina of Forlì [Scolta questa sconsolata, Chaterina da forlivo]" punctuate every verse, and set the somber tone, which suggests it was written while she was still imprisoned.[127] The lengthy poem covers quite a bit of ground. It outlines her hopes for her children, while it also places her into the larger context of the political turmoil unfolding on the Italian peninsula in the late fifteenth century.[128]

A few years later, the amateur poet Gabriele Piccoli wrote two more hopeful sonnets that extol Caterinas virtue and honor. They also adhere to the medieval literary tradition of courtly love. A citizen of Riolo, a small town within her Imolese territories, Piccoli had come to Caterina's attention in November 1491, when he and another man foiled a plot to assassinate her. In 1499, she awarded him the castellanship of the rocca of Dozza, near Riolo. He was the only one of her castellans who did not surrender to Cesare Borgia during his siege of the Riario territories later that year; instead, he was taken prisoner after mounting a valiant defense. Piccoli was one of several partisans in the Romagna who rallied for her to reclaim the Riario states and wrote her periodically to update her on the local situation. In 1504, he reported that the citizens of Riolo were faithfully awaiting her return. In his letter to her dated 7 September 1507, he added two sonnets that put his feelings to verse:[129]

> Every hour I well wait, yearning and longing
> that the Holy Emperor arrives in Italy
> mostly because of you, whom I adore, respect, and love
> and for your great love.
>
> And that my being, disconsolate and wretched,
> is able to become happy for your valor
> because in me all your honor bears fruits
> and every night and day, I arrange, weave and plot.
>
> If I eat, drink, am awake, or sleep,
> in you I fix my heart, my soul, and my thoughts;
> every chance passes and every other one flees.
>
> Hope makes me happy and I live in desire,
> waiting for the soul conformed of you, Lady,

whom I always find haughty discrete and sincere.
Grateful, good, humble, and gracious
and more of every other strong and soulful.

While the first sonnet begins with a call for Catcrina's brother-in-law, the Holy Roman Emperor, to come to her aid, the next commences with a pledge of love and loyalty:

From me what do you want?
That I have given you my heart, you have my faith,
you have my servitude, reigning in you not ingratitude:
gentle spirit does not live without love:

Who is more gloriously showing more valor.
And your favor to me is beatific
how can you keep me in solitude?
since both of them make not a few errors.

Love and fortune together contrast,
hope on the other hand underpins me,
I find nothing is enough for me.

Born in such a fate and under such a star
the chaste and pure mind serves you
and warms up at the heat of your fire
strong Vulcan hammers
you comprehend me if you understand my Latin,
every one follows his star and his destiny.

Piccoli's sonnets are full of hyperbole and he used the familiar when addressing Caterina. Because they fell within the bounds of courtly praise—the courtier's unwavering love for the higher-ranking and unattainable lady—she could accept the poems without risk of impropriety.[130] She was not obligated to return his interest, but if she were to return to power, she might have rewarded his continuing faithfulness with a position within her territories. If she did not, he might still hope to gain some favor from her in the form of a recommendation to another ruler. Compagnon's lament and Piccoli's sonnets are not part of Caterina's patronage per se, but instead offer evidence of how she inspired writers.

In the final months of her life, Caterina was not so much concerned with her political position as with the state of her soul. In early May 1509, she wanted to make a pilgrimage to the Holy House of the Virgin in Loreto and asked her confessor, the friar Francesco Fortunati, to accompany her.[131] She probably did not have the chance

to make the journey: she was dead by the end of the month. In her last testament, she requested a modest funeral and burial in the Murate convent. Many women wanted humble funerals and tombs, both meant to enhance their eternal status as pious and virtuous. In keeping with her wishes, Caterina was buried in a casket under the floor near the altar of the convent's church.[132] Her simple funeral and modest entombment were considerably different than the lavish affairs she had organized to commemorate Girolamo Riario and Giacomo Feo, and were more suitable to her status as pious noblewoman. In her last will and testament, Caterina dictated how she wanted to be commemorated, but after her death, her descendents and others took her legacy farther than she could have imagined.

Notes

1 "Quanta postreme sit eius in erudiendis, instituendisque fihis diligentia, vel ex hoc perspicue elicere possumus, quod doctissimos viros, sacraeque Theologiae magistros praeclarissimos apud se magna cum impensa semper liabere voluerit, qui Octavianum Principem, et reliquos puemlos non solum de humanis, verum etiam de divinis instruant disciplinis." J. Foresti, *De Claris selectibus mulieribus novissime congestum* (Ferrara, 1497), pp. CLX-CLXV, quote on p. CLXIV; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 273–76, quote on p. 275.

2 F. Barbara, *On Wifely Duties,* trans. B.G. Kohl, in B.G. Kohl and R.G. Witt (eds), *The Earthly Republic* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 224.

3 For Sforza's education, see Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 39—41. For the education of women in general in the Renaissance, see P.F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, MD, 1989), pp. 87–9, 111–305.

4 "Floret quoque et miro dicendi modo, cum sit prontissimi animi, ac tenacissimae memoriae faemina." Foresti, p. CLXIV; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, p. 275.

5 Pasolini notes this omission from local chronicles. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 333, n. 2.

6 N. Machiavelli, *The Prince,* in N. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others,* trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 5–96, quote on p. 66.

7 G. Savonarola, *A Guide to Righteous Living and Other Works.* trans. and ed. K. Eisenbichler (Toronto, 2003), pp. 58–59. See also G. Savonarola, *Le Lettere*, ed. R. Ridolfi (Florence, 1933), letter LXXIX.

8 K.J.P. Lowe, "A Matter of Piety or of Family Tradition and Custom? The Religious Patronage of Piero de' Medici and Lucrezia Tornabuoni," in A.

Beyer and B. Boucher (eds), *Piero de'Medici "il Gottoso" 1416–1469* (Berlin, 1993), p. 56.

9 G. Pontano, "Il trattato della Liberalità," in *I trattati delle virtù sociale,* trans, and ed. F. Tateo (Rome, 1965), pp. 187, 196.

10 A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *The Journal of the Warburg and Conrtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 162–70, esp. pp. 162–64.

11 Lowe, "A Matter of Piety," pp. 56–57.

12 L.P. Baumann, "Power and Image: Della Rovere Patronage in late Quattrocento Rome" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990), pp. 172–221; 274–92; idem, "Piety and Public Consumption: Domenico, Girolamo, and Julius II della Rovere at Santa Maria del Popolo," in I.F. Verstegen (ed.), *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, MO, 2007), pp. 39–62.

13 For more on Pietro, see P. Farenga, "'Monumenta memoriae": Pietro Riario fra mito e storia," in M. Miglio, F. Niutta, D. Quaglioni, C. Ranieri (eds), *Un Pontificate ed una città; Sisto IV (1471–1484)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1986), pp. 179–216.

14 F. Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale a Imola* (2 vols., Imola, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 67–69.

15 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 58–78 for the development of these churches in the late fifteenth century. San Francesco was subsequently destroyed and little is known about the late fifteenth-century work done on the church. Mancini mentions the indulgences but provides no further information. See also S. Gaddoni, *I Frati Minori in Imola e i tre ordini francescani nella città e diocesi imolese* (Quaracchi, 1911), esp. pp. 36–38.

16 Ibid. The Osservanza experienced a surge of activity beginning in the 1470s when its dedication was changed: the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie adjacent to the church was very popular; and its dedication was transferred to the high altar of the church, which until then had been dedicated to San Michele. This was initiated before Girolamo's tenure as papal vicar in Imola, but the subsequent expansion of the convent surely reflects a combination of this new dedication and his concern with the burgeoning Franciscan foundation.

17 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* Vol. 1, pp. 64–67.

18 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 65, 73, nos. 93, 94. Girolamo renewed this exemption in 1479.

19 The façade of San Francesco was also painted with fictive columns, and perhaps this was a meaningful visual link between the two churches.

20 Mancini. *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 1. p. 65.

21 Raffaelle Riario's arms were in the cathedral because he held several

benefices in Imola. including San Pietro in Sala, San Lorenzo, Santa Maria in Regola, and San Matteo. Ibid.

22 I. Robertson. "The Signoria of Girolamo Riario in Imola," *Historical Studies* 15 (1971): 88–117, esp. pp. 112–13; and A. Grilli, "Died Lettere inedite di Caterina Sforza al capitolo di san Cassiano d'Imola," *La Romagna* VIII (1911): 313–58.

23 The work was done in brick. See M. Foschi and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; la sua città* e *il sno tempo* (Milan, 1994), doc. 395, p. 282. The chronicler Andrea Beniardi asserts that the work was done in 1481 although the notarial act cited attests to the date of 1483; A. Bernardi, *Cronache Forlivesi* (Bologna, 1895), vol. 1, part 1, pp. 211, 262.

24 The *stemme* are currently in the Museo Civico, Forlì. Bernardi notes that painted arms of the Signoria were ordered by the canons, vol. 1, part 1, p. 211.

25 Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, p. 262.

26 A. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario* (3 vols., Bologna, 1795). vol. 1. p. 117. The church and convent were destroyed in the nineteenth century.

27 The chronicler Leone Cobelli notes Girolamo returning from mass at San Mercuriale in at least one instance; L. Cobelli, *Cronache Forlivesi*, eds G. Carducci and E. Frati (Bologna, 1874), p. 309.

28 Cobelli, p. 332; Bernardi, vol. 1. part 1, p. 248.

29 M. Gori, "Convento di San Francesco," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì,* pp. 324–27.

30 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 119.

31 Ibid., pp. 262–63.

32 G. Missirini, "Convento della Ripa (o della Torre)," in Foschi and Prati, *Meloizo e la sua città*, pp. 300–302.

33 See F. Arcelli, *Banking and Charity in XVI Century Italy: The Holy Monte de Pietà of Rome 1539–84* (Leicestershire, 2003); and C.B. Menning, *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte de Pietà of Florence* (Ithaca, 1993).

34 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 194–96.

35 Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, p. 304. See also E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 132–33; and E. Rinaldi, "Gli Ebrei in Forlì, nei secoli XIV e XV," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna*, ser. 4, X (1919–20): 295–323.

36 For a review of the conduct literature for women published in Italy in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, see C.E. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1550* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 20–39. See also C. Valone, "Roman Matrons as Patrons," in C.A. Monson

(ed.), *The Crannied Wall* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992), pp. 49–72.

37 Documents pertaining to women's patronage are often difficult to locate, since in certain areas of Italy, women could not legally make a contract, and a male relative executed the transaction. There are more documents of female patronage, though, for widows and heiresses, who experienced more freedom in this regard. See Lowe, "A Matter of Piety," pp. 60–61; and C. Valone, "Architecture as a public voice for women in sixteenth-century Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 15/3 (2001): 301–27.

38 Ibid., pp. 55–69.

39 L. Laureati, "Da Borgia a Este: due vite inquarant'anni," in L. Laureati (ed.), *Lucrezia Borgia* (Ferrara, 2002), pp. 19–75.

40 See for instance, G. Savonarola, *Libro della vita viduale* (1491), in M. Ferrara (ed.), *Operette Spirituale, Opere di Girolamo Savonarola* (2 vols., Rome, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 9–62; and the essays in A. Levy (ed.), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003).

41 C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The 'Cruel Mother': Maternity, Widowhood, and Dowry in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1987), pp. 117–31.

42 Laureati, "Da Borgia a Este."

43 A. Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence* (New York, 1995), p. 46.

44 P. Bedeschi, "Le vicende della tombe di Girolamo Riario nella Cattedrale di Imola," *Atti dell'Associazione per Imola Storica Artistica* IX (1977): 165–70.

45 Ibid., p. 166. The tomb commemorated both Girolamo and his son Galeazzo Riario, Giulio Riario's father. The tomb, which honors them as men-of-arms, was destroyed in the eighteenth century when the cathedral was renovated; its inscription plaque is now in the crypt. A seventeenth-century sketch of the tomb survives in the ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, busta H2, as well as in the Archivio del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Imola (Ms. Mancurti, vol. IA, n. 36); the drawing is published in S. Zaggia, *Una Piazza per la città del principe* (Rome, 1999), p. 40. Some pieces of the dissembled tomb are on display in the Museo del Vescovile.

46 "mangna sepoltura conveniente a tale cavalierei," Cobelli, p. 385.

47 "sove Signorie fecen uno belle anianamente in la ghiesia predita de Sam Jeronime per volere sepelire el corpe del predite barone e capitano ... E fu in la capela di sam Bernardine dove fu sepelite M.a Barbara zià moie dal nostre S.e Pine. E qui era uno diposte sopra tera come le sove arme depinte per fine a tante che lore aràane fate uno molimente de bronze da poterle metre. E li come uno bele tabernacole tute adornate come la molta cera; item ancora 4 bandirole de tela negra come li sove arme in suse. Aprese fe' comandare tute li loco piatuse, che fune in tute 33 croce." Bernardi, vol 1, part 2, pp. 101–2.

48 According to Caterina's biographer Antonio Burriel (vol. 2, p. 588), the bronze mausoleum was comparable to the work of Donatello, and a few months after the funeral it was seen in the Rocca di Ravaldino, where it did not survive the siege from Cesare Borgia.

49 Ibid., vol. 1, part 2, pp. 99–100.

50 In a letter to Lodovico Sforza, his ambassador deduces that Caterina wants to go San Piero in Bagno to collect Giovanni's body; she had told him that she was going to one of her castles to rest. Letter dated 15 September 1498, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, busta 1049; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 862, pp. 310–11. See also Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 212.

51 Letter of 17 September 1498 to Lodovico il Moro, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, busta 1049; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 867, p. 312.

52 For the career of Melozzo and his work in the Feo Chapel, see R. Buscaroli, *Melozzo e il Melozzisimo* (Bologna, 1955); N. Clark, *Melozzo da Forlì pictor papalis* (London, 1990); I. Frank, "Melozzo da Forli and the Rome of Sixtus IV, 1471–1484." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991; A. Sclimarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì* (Berlin-Stuttgart, 1886); S. Tumidei, "Melozzo da Forlì: fortuna, vicende, incontri di un artista prospettico," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì*, pp. 19–81; see also A. Pergoli, "La Chiesa di S. Biagio in S. Girolamo a Forlì," *Forum Livii* 1/4 (1926): 6–22; and A. Santarelli. "I restauri degli affreschi di San Biagio in Forlì, *"Arte e Storia* II/14 (1883): 108–9. For Palmezzano, see C. Grigioni, *Marco Palmezzano* (Faenza, 1956); and A. Paolucci, L. Prati, and S. Tumidei (eds), *Marco Palmezzano; il Rinascimento nelle Romagne* (Milan, 2006).

53 In his account of Giacomo's Feo funeral, Bernardi made no note of any decorations by Melozzo, which may imply the frescoes were not finished at the time of the funeral and therefore perhaps executed largely by Palmezzano; see note 47, above.

54 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 224. Ottaviano Manfredi, a member of the ruling family of Faenza, may have been Caterina's lover in 1499, after Giovanni de' Medici's death (Breisach, p. 201). Alternatively, he may simply have been a close friend and companion to her son Ottaviano Riario. Manfredi was brutally murdered by conspirators on 14 April 1499, eleven years to the day after Girolamo's murder. The CappellaFeo was adjacent and connected to the Ordelaffi–Manfredi Chapel, in which both Pino Ordelaffi, ruler of Forlì before Girolamo, and his consort Barbara Manfredi were buried. Ottaviano may have been interred in the space built by his relatives. See the letter of 14 April 1499 to Lodovico il Moro regarding Manfredi's assassination, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, busta 1050; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1019, pp. 377–78.

55 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 227.

56 Cobelli, pp. 354–55; and Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 342–43. See also the undated letter from the monk Guardianius from San Girolamo in ASF, MAP, Filza 78, c. 68, in which he asks Caterina to send the monastery alms for oil and salt.

57 For the legend and standard iconography of St. James the Greater, see J. de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. Granger Ryan (2 vols., Princeton, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 3–10; G. Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence, 1978), columns 447–69.

58 The groteschi designs along the borders of the framework mimicked those that grace Melozzo's dedicatory fresco in the Vatican Library. Palmezzano used this dramatic architectural setting again in an altarpiece of the Annunciation that he painted in the 1490s for a chapel in the church of the Carmine in Forlì. See G. Viroli, "Chiesa del Carmine," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì,* pp. 306–8.

59 This particular enactment of the miracle is taken from the legend of Dominic of Calzada, a saint known for aiding pilgrims on the way to Santiago da Compostela. See D. Caragnano, "Una inconsueta iconografia di San Giacomo in ambito rupestre: il miracolo dell'impiccato nella chiesa di San Giacomo a Laterza (TA)," in A. Caprara, F. Galli, and M. Scalzo (eds), *Alèetes Miscellanea per i settant'anni di Roberto Caprara* (Massafra, 2000), pp. 115–30, esp. p. 119.

60 The frescoes in the Ovetari Chapel were also destroyed in 1944, although they were carefully pieced back together. K. Christiansen, *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantegna* (New York, 1994), pp. 13–28; 40–71.

61 Caterina was certainly in contact with the Feo family after Giacomo's death. There are several inventories of his goods that she was to return to his mother (ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 35, cc. 378–84).

62 "non essendo etiam mio officio lo intromettenni nelle cose ecclesiastiche." Letter dated 8 November 1494, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, unknown busta, as transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 591, p. 231.

63 The bull is partially transcribed by Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 132, pp. 66–67; according to Pasolini, it can be found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, reg. 670 Sitxi IV Bull. div. A. I through VIII, vol. XL. Unfortunately, no documents have come to light that could elucidate which foundations she favored with her presence in Rome.

64 Fortuati became her spiritual advisor through Giovanni de' Medici and he also served as her agent in Florence and political advisor until the end of her life. See Breisach, pp. 195, 239—41.

65 Cobelli, p. 332.

66 "la bona memoria del nostre signore conte Ieronimo ... e po' per tute li anime de dita nostre Comunità." Bernardi described the altar frontal: "dite palio di brocate d'arizente de lungheze de braza 15 ala mesura fiorentina, che

poteva valere duquate 90 d'ore." Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, p. 185. City council members accompanied Caterina and Ottaviano in the donation ceremony that took place during vespers 15 May 1491. See also Libro Madonna, ASFo, Ms. 1, fol. 1; and Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1396, p. 566, which paraphrases a document that notes her donation of a silver brocade palio from the Archive of San Mercuriale, Libro Pesce, 1491–1504, fol. 2.

67 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 78–79, 122, 166.

68 Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, p. 306; G. Viroli, "Duomo," in Foschi and Prati, *Melozzo da Forlì.* pp. 282–85; M. Gori, "L'architettura e la scultura nei secoli XV e XVI," in C. Casanova, G. Tocci, A. Varni, A. Vasina (eds), *Storia di Forlì* (4 vols., Forlì, 1989–92), vol. 3, pp. 211–34, esp. 218–19.

69 G. Adani, *Arte e Santnari in Emilia Romagna* (Milan, 1987), p. 215; A. Locatelli, *Il Santuario del Piratello in Imola nel quinto centenario della sua erezione (1483–1983)* (Rome, 1983); and R. Galli, *La vera origine del Santuario del Piratello, 1489–1543* (Bologna, 1943). The church later enjoyed the patronage of Cesare Borgia, who apparently took down Caterina's arms and replaced them with his own. See also Gaddoni, *Frati Minori*, p. 163.

70 Bernardi associated Caterina with the building of the Piratello, vol. 1, part 1, p. 296. The legend of the miraculous vision has two traditions, one that says the miracle occurred on 17 April 1489, and another that dates it to 17 April 1483. See Breisach, p. 304, n. 46.

71 The bell was destroy ed in 1874. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, pp. 312–13.

72 Burriel, vol. 2, pp. 428–29.

73 Cobelli, 354–55; and Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 342–43. Although there is no documentation positively linking her to the commission, scholars have recently speculated that Caterina might have commissioned the fresco of the Crucifixion with saints done by Marco Palmezzano in the convent *c*. 1492. See S. Tumidei, "Marco Palmezzano (1459–1539). Pittura e prospettiva nelle Romagne." in A. Paolucci, L. Prati, and S. Tumidei, *Marco Palmezzano*, pp. 31–32; and the catalogue entry for the painting by S. Togni, pp. 192–93.

74 Cobelli, p. 411.

75 Letter dated 8 June 1508, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 253; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1336, pp. 531.

76 Letters of 12 April 1496 from Sister Beatrice of Ferrara and 10 May 1498 from Sister Antonia of Milan, successive abbesses Santa Chiara, Forlì; ASF, MAP, Filza 78, cc. 25 and 52.

77 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 214.

78 Mancini, *Urbanistica rinascimentale,* vol. 1, pp. 68–69; Gaddoni, *Frati Minori,*

pp. 36–38. For instance, Tommaso Feo built a family chapel dedicated to the Nativity in the church (begun 1489) and commissioned the tomb of his wife, Bianca Landriani, Caterina's half-sister (died 1496). Feo was castellan of the Rocca di Ravaldino in Forlì from 1487 until 1490, when Caterina replaced him with his brother Giacomo. Tommaso went into exile after his deposition, but she called him back into service as governor of Forlì in 1494. Bianca's tomb was moved to the porch of the church during restorations in the 1880s; see *Il Restanro del chiostro Quattrocentesco dell'Osservanza di Imola (1467–1967)* (Imola, 1968).

79 Letter dated 3 June 1496, ASF, MAP, Filza 78, c. 30.

80 Letter dated 8 October 1492 from Suor Felice at the Murate to Caterina, ASF, MAP, Filza 137, c. 544. For another letter, see Filza 78, c. 29 (undated). For the donations of grain, see S. Weddle, "Enclosing Le Murate: The Ideology of Enclosure and the Architecture of a Florentine Convent, 1390–1597" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1997), p. 154.

81 The documents of the convent, including letters from these nobles, are in the ASF, Conventi Soppressi, 81, Filza 162. Suora Giustina Niccolini, a nun in the convent, finished a chronicle of its early history in 1598, for the manuscript: BNCF, Ms. II, II 509. See also Weddle; K.J.P. Lowe, "Female Strategies for Success in a Male-ordered world: The Benedictine Convent of the Le Murate in Florence in the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries." in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Women in the Church* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 209–21; and M. Holmes, "Giovanni Benci's Patronage of the nunnery, Le Murate," in G. Ciappelli and P.L. Rubin (eds), *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 114–34.

82 Letters dated 18 July and 25 September 1499 in ASF, Conventi Sopressi, 81, Filza 100, fols 325r and 326r, as cited and transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs. 1056, 1084, pp. 393, 402. Weddle, pp. 159, note 247, and 626.

83 "Desiderando la S. V. come la dimostra per sue lettere liavere refugio a Dio, et essere da lui adiutata, maxime in questi tempi pericolosi.... e puo a mettere questo in effecto conforto quella ad liavere buona et vera contritione de li suoi peccati, redimendo quelli cum opere pie cioe' cum fare elemosine a poveri ... et sopra tutto metta ogni cura et solicitudine a ministrare iusititia ahi suoi subditj et cum tutto el cuore suo ricorri al clementissimo dio ...." Savonarola, *Guide to Righteous Living*, pp. 51–52. For the letter, see ASF, MAP, Filza 71, c. 27: Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 725, pp. 276–77.

84 Savonarola gives the same advice to in his letters to Charles VIII of France (26 May 1495) and Lodovico Sforza (11 and 25 April 1496); *Le Lettere,* ed. R. Ridolfi (Florence, 1933), letters XX, XXVIII, and XXVIX. He frequently advised his secular correspondents, mostly nobles, to confess and pay penance for their sins, as well as perform good works (letters XV, XXX, XXXI, XXVIII, XXVIX).

85 Savonarola, *Guide to Righteous Living,* pp. 193–96; *Libro della vita viduale*, p. 20. See also King, *Renaissance fPomen Patrons,* esp. pp. 32–33.

86 Seethe essays in J. Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1996).

87 Farenga, "'Monumenta memoriae'," pp. 179–216; Bauman, "Power and Image," pp. 75–99.

88 C.L. Frommel, "Raffaele Riario, committente della Cancelleria," in A. Esch and C.L. Frommel (eds), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e uelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)* (Turin, 1995), pp. 197–212; and M.D. Davis, "'Opus isodomum' at the Palazzo della Cancelleria: Vitruvian Studies and Archaeological and Antiquarian Interests at the Court of Raffaele Riario," in S.D. Squarzina (ed.), *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell 'Antico nei secoli XV e XVI* (Milan, 1989), pp. 442–57.

89 L. Pacioli, *Divina Proportione,* in A. Bruschi (ed.), *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura,* (Milan, 1978); Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 389–90; and P Petraroia, "'Per dar piacere a la speculatione'. Dipinti sacri e profani nella dimora di Girolamo Riario, di Francesco Soderini e degli Altemps," in F. Scoppola (ed.), *Palazzo Altemps; Indagini per il restaaro della fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome, 1987), p. 198.

90 For the 1477 entrance: letter of 4 May 1477 to Bona of Savoy from Gianluigi Bossi, ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c. 186; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 46–47; for the 1481 entrance; Bernardi, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 58–60; and Cobelli, pp. 263–67.

91 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 14, cc. 121–46.

92 BAV, Urb. lat. 707 and Vat. lat. 3603, respectively.

93 P. Verrua, *Il "Lamento" di Girolamo Riario* (Padua, 1906).

94 ASFo, Ms. 1 (Libro Madonna), entries under 23 March and 20 April 1494; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 511 and 515, pp. 202–4.

95 The elegy is transcribed in Burriel, vol. 3, pp. LXX-LXXII; Nicolò Ferretti, *De elegantia linguae latinae* (Forlì, 1495). See P. Temeroli, "I primordi della stampa a Forlì (1495–1507)," in L. Baldacchini and A. Manfron (eds), *Il libro in Romagna* (2 vols., Florence, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 61–101. Published in May 1495, the grammar book's colophon refers to Ottaviano Riario as the ruler, and to Giacomo Feo as the governor of Forlì; according to Pasolini, the book was dedicated to Caterina, vol. 2, p. 386.

96 G. Pieraccini, *La Stirpe de 'Medici di Cafaggiolo* (3 vols., Florence, 1986), vol. 1, p. 367.

97 For his career, see B. Croce, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota, Le elegie per la patria perduta ed altri suoi carmi* (Bari, 1938), pp. 20–33; A. Perosa (ed.), *Michaelis Marulli Carmina* (Turici, 1951). See also N. Baldini, "In the Shadow of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Role of Lorenzo and Giovanni di

Pierfrancesco de" Medici," in M. Gregori (ed.), *In the Light of Apollo* (2 vols., Milan, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 277–82.

98 Marullo had previously served as a soldier for King Charles VIII of France during his Italian expedition in 1494–95. See S.S. Nigro, F. Tateo, and A. Tissoni Benvenuti (eds), *Il Quattrocento; l'età, dell'umanesimo* (Bari, 1972), vol. 3, part 2, pp. 528–38.

99 E. Welch, "Public Magnificence and Private Display," *Journal of Design History* 15/4 (2002), pp. 212–13.

100 Foresti, *De Claris Sceletisque,* fols CLX-CLXV. The book was printed in Ferrara in 1497, and dedicated to Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary. Caterina likely knew of the work although the book does not appear in any of her inventories. See also L.M. Frattini, "Foresti, Giacomo Filippo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1997), vol. 48, pp. 801–3; and G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. V. Brown (Cambridge, 2001).

101 "et animi magnanimitatem pre se ferens non sine magna animi sui virtute eidem suo marito (praeter multorum opinionem) in regno Forolivii et Imolae successit, et nunc usque tamquam Semiramis Assiriorum Regina, prestantissime regnavit." Foresti, *De Claris sceletisque,* fol. CLX; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 723, p. 273. Like other female rulers, Semiramide had many detractors who spread the rumors that she dressed in men's clothes, and that she had a notoriously vociferous sexual appetite and perhaps even slept with her own son. Foresti also compares Caterina to the Roman woman Triaria, known for her prudence and most likely chosen as a means to play on Girolamo Riario's name. These two ancient women are included in his *Lives.* For an analysis of this type of mixed praise in Boccaccio, see J. Schiesari, "In Praise of Virtuous Women? For a Genealogy of Gender Morals in Renaissance Italy,." *Annali d'italianistica* 7 (1989): 66–87; and C. Jordan, "Boccaccio's In-Famous Women: Gender and Civic Virtue in the *De mulieribus Claris,"* in C. Levin and J. Watson (eds), *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 25—47.

102 The originals of the three quotes: "Est quippe haec Catherina inter mulieres nostri saeculi formosissima et eleganti aspectu, ac per omnes corporis artus mirifice decorata est;" "muliebres lacrimas pro virili a se reiecit, et suam prudentiam, suamque animi magnitudinem contra insanum, furentemque populum demonstrare curavit ... Mira profecto res, et auditu incredibilis, vidisse puellam quatuor et viginti annorum in deliciis semper enutritam, tiunultuumque ignaram eo loco constitisse, in quo etiam magnanimes tremere consueverunt;" and "quae res, cum a mulieribus at plurimum servari minime consuetum sit, si satis inspiciatur, maximi etiam miraculi claritatem eidem afferre videtur." Foresti, *De Claris sceletisqne,* fols CLX-CLXV; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 273–76.

103 Pasolini. *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 2, p. 385; Antoni Codri Hurcei, *Lucubrationum* (1540) and C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo, detto*

Codro (Bologna, 1878). Maddalena de' Capodiferro also likens Caterina to Cleopatra in a poem she wrote to Cesare Borgia after his conquest of the Romanga. See Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, p. 387; according to Pasolini, the poem can be found in the Vatican Apostolic Library, Cod. Vaticano, n. 3352, 79.

104 As documented in the inventories of 1502 and 1509: ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, c. 152r (1502); and ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 18, cc. 228r and 231r (1509).

105 "uno vergilio inpena copto di veluto no cum seranni et cantoien dargento,"ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, c. 151v (1502); and "uno vergilio intacta buona," Filza 104, n. 18, c. 231r (1509).

106 Vienna, Österreichisch Nationalbibliotek, Cod. 145. See E. Pellegrin, *La Biblioteque des Visconti et des Sforza dues de Milan, au XVe siecle* (Paris, 1955), p. 406.

107 ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 18, c. 228r (1509 inventory). Regarding the entertainment, see the letter of 19 July 1481 to the Milanese court in ASMi, Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Romagna, c.192; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 167, pp. 79–82. Caterina also kept a buffoon for court entertainment; Leone Cobelli, *Cronache Forlivesi,* eds G. Carducci and E. Frati (Bologna, 1874), p. 317.

108 Cobelli, p. 398.

109 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, p. 386.

110 A.J. Parel, *The Machiavellian Cosmos* (New Haven, CT, 1992), p. 24.

111 For instance, he inquired about her health care needs in a letter dated 22 April 1509, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 256; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1346, p. 535. At the time of her death, she still had an unpaid bill with this shop for 587 florins, a sizable amount; letter dated 8 September 1509, transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1364, p. 551. Albertini also noted that Giovanni de' Medici's heirs still owed him 86 Bolognese lire.

112 Letter dated 8 June 1508, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 253: Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1336, p. 531.

113 Letter dated 21 January 1504, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 19; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1232, p. 496.

114 Letter dated 15 March 1508, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 228; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1324, p. 527.

115 Letter dated 23 April 1508, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 243; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1332, pp. 529–30.

116 ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 10; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1257, p. 503.

117 Pasolini published these experiments and recipes, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, pp. 599–807. See also F. Fiumi and G, Tempesta, "Gli 'experimenti' di Caterina Sforza," in V. Novielli (ed.), *Caterina Sforza una donna del Cinquecento* (Imola, 2000). pp. 139–45.

118 There is a book described as written in Sforza's hand in the inventory of 1502, and differentiated from an account book, ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 16, c. 167r.

119 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 295–96. See also Breisach, pp. 335–36, note 80.

120 See the letters of 21 September 1502 and 24 July 1503 from the Abbess Elena Bini in ASF, MAP, Filza 78, cc. 216 and 242.

121 See note 63, above, fort lie bull. For Caterina's cell in the convent, see Suora Niccolini's chronicle, BNCF, Ms. II, II 509, fol. 63r. On the Murate's other cells for lay women and the papal bull restricting secular women there, see Weddle, pp. 158–59; 216–18; 255; 280.

122 Weddle, p. 339; and Niccolini, BNCF, Ms. II, II 509, fol. 174r.

123 This is inferred from the statements in Caterina's will (1509). ASF, MAP, Filza 99, n 38, cc. 112–42; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1355, pp. 537—47.

124 See the letters Bianca wrote to her brother Ottaviano on 18 December 1500 and 3 August 1502 from the convent of Sant'Agata, ASF, MAP, Filza 77, cc. 35 and 99. For the convent, see G. RiCha, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne suoi quartieri* (10 vols., reprint, Rome, 1972), vol. 5, pp. 265–85.

125 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 330–31.

126 See, for instance, Pieraccini, vol. 1, p. 367; and F. Cardini, "Giovanni gentiluomo," in M. Scalini (ed.), *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (Milan, 2001), p. 163. For the foundation of the Annalena convent, see A.V. Coonin, "New Documents concerning Desiderio da Settignano and Annalena Malatesta," *Burlington Magazine* 137/1113 (1995): 792–99.

127 The poem is fully transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* Vol. 3, pp. 810–23. Pasolini cites the original as found in the Trivulziana Library, Milan, signature 48.4. Little is known about the author and his relationship to Caterina.

128 For instance, the poet reviews her uncle Lodovico Sforza's overthrow by French forces in Milan just prior to her own defeat, and the fact it does not relate his deportation to France gives the verses a probable *terminus post quem* of May 1500.

129 For the 1504 letter: ASF, MAP, Filza 125, c. 57r; for the 1507 letter: ASF, MAP, Filza 85, cc. 384–97r. For Piccoli, see L. Costa, *Il Castello di Riolo e gli ultimi pertinaci paladins di Caterina Sforza* (Faenza, 1987), pp. 7–8; 25–27; 42–44. The sonnets are transcribed onp. 43; and in Pasolini, *Caterina*

Sforza, vol. 2, pp. 320–21. I would like to thank Giovanna Summerfield for help in translating the poems into English.

Ogni hora aspecto ben, dessidro e bramo
ch'cu Talia arive il Sacro Imperatore
più per tuo effecto e per tuo grande amore
la quale adoro, reverisco e amo.
E che l'esser mio sconsolato e grarno
lieto si può tornare al tuo valore
perch'in me fa fructo ogni tuo honore
e nocte e zorno ordisco, tesso e tramo.
Si manzo, bevo, se son desto, o dormo,
in te ho fisso il cuor, l'animo, el pinsero;
ogni partito fugo, ogn'altro stonno *[sic]*
Speranza me contenta e in dessidero
vivo, aspectando L'animo conformo
de te, Signora, che sempre fo altero,
discreto e sincero.
Grata, benigna, humile et gratiosa
e più d'ogni altra virile et animosa.
Da me che vo' tu? ch'io t'ho dato il core,
tu hai la fe, tu hai la servitudine
regnar in te non di ingratitudine:
spirito gentil non vive senza amore:
chi più è excelso mostra più valore.
El tuo favor a me è beatitudine
com può tu tenrme in solitudine?
chè I'uno e l'allro fa non poco errore.
Amore e fortuna inseme contrasta,
speranza d'altro canto me pontella,
niuna cosa trovo che mi basta.
Nacque in tal fato, e sotto di tal Stella

servarte la mente pudìca e casta

e scaldarne al foco de tua facella

forte Vulcan martella.

Intendi mo' se sciaj il mio latino,

ogniun segue sua Stella e suo destino.

130 See C.S. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999), esp. Chapter 3; and J.A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago, 2006).

131 Letter dated 6 May 1509 from Sebastiano Vescovo (writing for Caterina) to Fortunati, ASF, MAP, Filza 70, c. 331; Pasolini, III, 536, doc. 1350.

132 Weddle, p. 159, note 247.

Chapter 5
The Political Afterlife of Caterina Sforza

> If ... Sforza had not existed, she would have had to be invented to feed our appetite for tough, sensual Renaissance women who mirror their age.
>
> — Donald Weinstein, in his review of Ernst Breisach's 1967 biography of Caterina Sforza[1]

Like others elites in Renaissance Italy, Caterina Sforza lived her life planning for the future. Her actions to ensure her regency, from maintaining a splendid lifestyle to cool-headed diplomacy, were ostensibly for her sons and their descendents, as was her attention to their educations and careers. Her secular and religious patronage was meant to establish a lasting reputation as a virtuous wife, mother, and widow that would similarly benefit her family. As the previous chapters have shown, Caterina was clearly adept in her own self-invention. Her life proved to be a fertile ground for later generations to sow their adaptations of her story. Donald Weinstein's comment above suggests that Caterina exemplifies her age, but her various biographies have largely been products of their times and places, whether it be the princely courts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, the emergent nationalism of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italy, or the field of gender studies in the present era. In this capacity her stoiy reveals the way our understanding of "the Renaissance" itself is mutable, a product of changing historiographic trends as much as any truly accurate account of the era. This chapter traces the ongoing construction of the life of Caterina Sforza to examine the appropriation, manipulation, and misunderstanding of what is now a legendary biography. Her posthumous legend is indeed an invention, or, more specifically, a series of reinventions that have served the shifting political agendas of a range of players from Niccoló Machiavelli to Joan Kelly.

Caterina Sforza's Last Testament

As she lay dying on 28 May 1509 in the Medici Casa Vecchia on the via Larga in Florence, Caterina Sforza dictated an extensive will that outlined how she wanted her estate to be distributed.[2] Women's wills such as this give voice to female agency in very concrete ways, and while most are formulaic and strictly adhere to established property laws, some demonstrate more personal schemes.[3] Women of independent property used their wills to promote their own agendas, and these sometimes differ from those of their husbands or other male relatives. At the time of her death, Caterina had significant funds and properties to distribute. In the years immediately following her imprisonment, Caterina had been reduced to very limited means, but in 1505 she won the lawsuit over her youngest son Giovanni de' Medici's tutelage and patrimony. After she took control of Giovanni's Medici estates and what was left of the Riario holdings, she returned to a more comfortable lifestyle, and she still owned an array decorative and practical items. Thus, by 1509 she had a sizable fortune to divide among her children and grandchildren and religious and civic institutions in Florence. There are no surprises in Caterina's will: for the most part it followed custom and law, but its details reveal the individualized choices she made for her estate. Caterina left generous legacies to her family, but if they failed to adhere to her stipulations, most of those properties would revert to religious institutions. In her last hours, Caterina focused primarily on her family, but spiritual concerns were a not-too-distant second.

Caterina first described what she wanted for her funeral in the will. She asked to be buried in the Florentine convent of the Murate, a foundation that she had favored with her religious patronage since the 1490s. She specifically ordered that there be no pomp during the religious rituals performed at the burial. Instead, she left the convent four large gold florins to fund the performance of one thousand masses for her soul over the two months following her demise. She further requested that thirty masses be said for her soul every year on the anniversary of her death. There is no reason to believe that Caterina's funeral did not fit her specifications. Unlike the funerals of Girolamo Riario or Giacomo Feo that she had overseen in Forlì, hers was modest. She did not ask to be buried in a family chapel, whether the Riario chapel in the cathedral of Imola or even a Medici chapel. Instead she chose the church of a convent where she had retreated for spiritual succor in her final years.

Caterina left small amounts of money to other Florentine religious institutions. She gave four large gold florins to the Franciscan

monastery of San Girolamo in Fiesole and asked that the monks perform masses for her soul in their church dedicated to her name saint. She specified that the money should go toward the construction of new rooms for the prior of Santa Caterina, Fra Agostino di Brescia, who was present at her deathbed. With this donation, Caterina chose to favor a Franciscan foundation and again carried on a Riario family tradition. Furthermore, she left 150 lire to the dowry fund for poor Florentine girls administered by a Sister Giovanna in the order of Saint Cecilia in the monastery of Santa Lucia. Caterina also gave three soldi to the Fabrica of the cathedral of Florence to help finance the new sacristy and to contribute to the on-going repairs to the walls of the city. With these small bequests, she provided money to protect her adopted city socially, spiritually, and physically.

Caterina's four surviving sons by Girolamo Riario were all adults at the time of her death, but in many regards they were still dependent upon her for guidance in their careers and for financial support.[4] Since the fall of the Riario, the sons had mainly resided in Rome and corresponded with their mother regularly about their careers and material needs. Ottaviano, as the firstborn, should have inherited his father's territories; after all, Caterina had prepared him for life as a ruler by insisting on his military training and negotiating a series of military contracts with Florence. While he and his brothers planned to return to Imola and Forlì after Pope Alexander VI died in 1503, any hope of this was dispelled in August 1504 when Pope Julius II made the Riario renounce any claims to their territories in the Romagna and placed the cities under direct papal jurisdiction. Their renunciation earned them an annual stipend of 2000 scudi, which Ottaviano probably claimed for himself as the legal heir.[5] Ottaviano did not have any luck in gaining another territory through his relatives or a marriage—he had been a possible marriage match for several women, including the daughters of Alexander VI (Lucrezia Borgia), Giovanni II Bentivolgio of Bologna, and Francesco II Gonzaga of Mantua, but none of these came to pass.[6] Instead he took religious orders and turned toward a career in the church. Raffaele Riario relinquished to him the offices of Bishop of Viterbo and Volterra in 1507 and 1508, respectively, and for several years, Ottaviano begged both his mother and cousin to secure a more lucrative cardinal's hat for him.[7] Caterina's next son, Cesare, had already taken orders and been invested in 1498 as the Archbishop of Pisa and soon thereafter as the Patriarch of Alessandria, both positions that Raffaele had given up. Cesare received better ecclesiastical appointments than his older

brother because, as the second son, he had always been slated for a career in the church; by the time Ottaviano became a priest, Cesare had already received the best offices Raffaele could negotiate. Galeazzo, the only Riario son who remained secular, had made a good alliance in January 1504 when he married his second cousin Maria della Rovere, the niece of Pope Julius II and sister of Francesco Maria della Rovere, who became the Duke of Urbino in 1507.[8] Galeazzo returned to live in Imola briefly and then moved to nearby Bologna where he eventually received local citizenship and nobility.[9] The youngest Riario son, Francesco, called Sforza, was still secular at the time of Caterina's death and was a member of Julius II's papal court. He later took orders and became Bishop of Lucca in 1517. The four sons, as was typical of noble men wrote to each other often and were in constant search of new forms of income and credit.

Just as she strove to protect and increase their patrimony during her life, Caterina allocated the bulk of her money to her Riario sons. Caterina left them her goods "outside the Florentine domain," meaning the properties she still held in Imola, Forlì, Rome, and Lombardy. The four sons were meant to split the rents or sales of these holdings, which were unspecified in the will. She also left them to divide her dowry of 15,000 florins—10,000 from her father Galeazzo Maria Sforza and 5,000 that Girolamo had added after the wedding—as well as another 18,000 gold florins she had accumulated.[10] Caterina specified that her youngest son, Giovanni de' Medici, or at least his guardians, would pay these sums to his half-brothers. The Riario sons had already inherited the Palazzo Riario in Rome from their father, and Caterina had been renting it to various prelates. The brothers decided to sell it in 1511 to Cardinal Francesco Soderini, and presumably divided the monies.[11] Furthermore, Caterina allocated to her son Galeazzo the rights to the Castel del Bosco, the fortress near Milan that Girolamo had acquired along with its landholdings and the title of Count in 1471. This Riario territory was more secure than Imola and Forlì had ever been, so Galeazzo received a potentially money-making property that he could choose to inhabit, rent, or sell. Caterina further stipulated that if Galeazzo were to die without a legitimate male heir, the fortress would then pass to his younger brother Sforza. If these two Riario sons failed in their duty to produce legitimate heirs, the title would revert to her Medici son, Giovanni. As was common, Caterina's will specifically favored her sons who, at the time, had not taken religious orders and who could thus pass on their own patrimony to another generation.

Caterina left something to the next generation of the Riario family as well. She had already been functioning as the guardian of two of her granddaughters by Ottaviano and Galeazzo and had placed both of them in the Murate convent in Florence for their education. She now requested that they stay there until they each came of age and could enter the marriage market. At that time, Ottaviano's illegitimate daughter Cornelia would receive 2,000 large gold florins for her dowry. If she decided to become a nun, her dowry would be reduced to 300 florins and the balance would then go to Giovanni de' Medici. Giulia, Galeazzo's legitimate daughter by Maria della Rovere, would receive 1,000 large gold florins for her dowry, and the same stipulation held for her if she decided to enter a convent permanently. Just as Giovanni de' Medici was to administer Caterina's legacy to her Riario sons, he was to oversee the payment of these dowries. In addition, Caterina left her household linens *(pannis lineis)* for the two girls to divide. This was no small inheritance. As the inventory that was taken in the days after her death attests, the linens were extensive and presumably worth quite a bit.[12]

In contrast to the generosity she showed her granddaughters, Caterina did not mention her daughter in the will. Bianca had already received her share of the Riario estate when her dowry was paid upon her marriage. The firstborn child and the one daughter from the Riario-Sforza union, Bianca had been the object of several marriage plans, all of political alliance. She had been betrothed to Astorre Manfredi of the neighboring city of Faenza in 1495 but her mother dissolved this contract in 1498; a year later Caterina considered offering her daughter as bride to the Duke of Monferrato.[13] Finally. Caterina and Raffaele Riario negotiated her betrothal to Troilo de' Rossi in 1502. Bianca married him in July 1503, soon after he was officially reinvested with the Rossi territories of San Secondo, near Parma, and his status elevated to Marquis by the Holy Roman Emperor.[14] Bianca's son Pier Maria was under Caterina's tutelage in Florence in at least 1507 and 1508, and he did not receive any inheritance either, most likely because he was his father's primary heir as the firstborn son.[15] A sign of the networks within the subsequent generations of the Riario family, Cornelia Riario's dowry was paid by Troilo de' Rossi in the name of Giovanni de' Medici when she married Luca Carissimi of Parma in 1520.[16] This type of family cooperation was something Caterina would have undoubtedly sanctioned.

Caterina similarly did not leave any money to Scipione, Girolamo Riario's illegitimate son by an unknown woman. Caterina had reared

him for a time within her household, as she herself was reared by her father's consort, Bona of Savoy. Although there was some conflict between them in the early 1490s, Scipione helped Caterina fight Cesare Borgia in 1499 and later offered to help regain the family estates in 1502.[17] A"Scipione di Imola" fought with Giovanni de' Medici's army in the late 1510s and, according to Caterina's eighteenth-century biographer Antonio Burriel, Scipione Riario settled in Bologna where his descendents prospered.[18]

In contrast Caterina provided generously for Carlo, her son by Giacomo Feo, when she left him 2,000 large gold florins. As was typical upon the death of a father, Carlo had been raised by his paternal family, specifically, his grandmother in Forlì.[19] The Feo were closely linked with the Riario court—for instance, Giacomo's brother Tommaso was married to Caterina's half-sister Bianca—and Caterina was able to keep a close eye 011 Carlo's upbringing. As an adult, Carlo reinforced his ties to his mother's family when he fought with the army led by his half-brother Giovanni de' Medici. Once he married, Carlo established his family in Florence, where according to Burriel Duke Cosimo I acknowledged him as a full uncle and made him a knight of Santo Stefano.[20] Legitimate or illegitimate, these siblings seem to have capitalized on their family connections.

Alarge part of Caterina's will concerns the future of heryoungest son, Giovanni de' Medici, who was still a minor and was rendered an orphan upon her death—his father Giovanni di Pierfrancesco had died in 1498. She gave to him "all [of her] moveable and immoveable goods in the Florentine dominion," that is everything she acquired in the final years of her life, including one Mora Bona, a servant probably of African descent, and some tapestries with the Riario coat of arms that later appeared in a 1515 inventory of Giovanni's goods.[21] She appointed her confessor Fra Francesco di Tommaso Fortunati and Jacopo di Giovanni Salviati as Giovanni's guardians until he came of age at eighteen. Fortunati, the Prior of Cascina. had been Giovanni di Pierfrancesco's business agent and he stayed in the Riario court as Caterina's agent and confessor when Giovanni died. The friar had shown his loyalty when he helped negotiate Caterina's tutelage of the young Giovanni with Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, who wanted to control it instead. In a similar fashion, Jacopo Salviati had also proven his loyalty to Caterina when he lent her money after she moved to Florence.[22] He was married to a daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, and thus had a vested interest in the family as well. Now the two men were to oversee Giovanni's education, administer his estate,

and in general protect him from Medici family politics that might work against him. After elaborating these legal matters in the will, Caterina voiced her wish that Giovanni marry as soon as possible. He followed his mother's advice when in 1516 he married Maria Salviati, the daughter of his guardian. He went on to become one of Italy's most famous military leaders, or *condottieri*. Because she had prepared him for such a military life, Caterina considered the possibility that Giovanni might die without any heirs and stipulated that if this happened his share of her properly would then revert to the Arte del Cambio of Florence. The guild of money changers should then use the fortune to finance the building of a new convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In addition, the guild was to use the continuing revenue generated by Caterina's properly for the funding of poor girls' dowries. If her heirs would not fulfill their social obligation of reproducing and carrying on the family name, Caterina wanted to ensure that others could.

Finally, Caterina placed all her books, writings, papers, and letters in the hands of Fra Fortunati, who was to sort out her accounts, pay her debts, and collect what was owed to her. This arrangement made sense since the friar was also Giovanni's guardian and he therefore had an interest in resolving any financial issues regarding her estate. Fortunati indeed received letters from several of Caterina's creditors in the years after her death, and tried to satisfy what he could of the legitimate claims.[23] He also sent money and gifts of food to the Murate to ensure the sisters kept reciting masses for Caterina's soul. Fortunati had a considerable impact up on Caterina's historical legacy. He kept most of her documents intact, and integrated them with the growing archives of his young charge Giovanni. Thus Caterina's many letters and inventories are now housed in the Fondo Mediceo avanti il Principato (Sources for the Medici before the principate of Cosimo I) in the State Archives of Florence. While her letters are still identifiable within the archive, the material items that she left to Giovanni, which were also integrated into the Medici collections, are largely lost or remain unidentified.

The details of Caterina's will sum up the concerns of her life and highlight her role as a good mother and administrator. First and foremost she provided for her children and divided up her property and goods in fair terms: the properties she acquired as Riario wife and regent went to her Riario sons and the properties she acquired as Medici guardian went to her Medici son. She paid special attention to the one child who was still a minor and planned his future. She

expressed her concerns about spiritual matters, specifically her burial and religious donations, early in her testament, a demonstration of their importance, but the arrangements were brief and simple compared with the allocations to her children. Nonetheless, her stipulation that all goods would revert to religious foundations if her children ultimately failed in their familial duties indicates her final choice—to honor the Church and provide for less fortunate women and thus allow the social order to prevail outside her own family. This concern with religious patronage was part of the legacy for her children—Caterina adhered to social codes that encouraged noble women not to seek glory in their funerals or tombs and thus upheld the image of a good wife and mother. The fact that much of her money went to her children reinforced this role. In life and in death Caterina acted the part of a great noblewoman who protected her family financially, socially, and spiritually. Caterina dictated her final bequests, but her posthumous fame, which soon began to develop, was obviously out of her control.

5.1 Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, 16th century

In the years following her death, Caterina's fame inspired material commemorations. Two undocumented portrait medals that commemorate her were probably struck sometime after May 1509. Both present the same profile portrait of Caterina in which she wears a dress with braided trim and a veil that indicates her widowhood (Illustration 5.1).[24] She appears wizened and less of a formidable presence than in the earlier, regency-era medals. The inscription around her head reads "The Divine Caterina Sforza" (DIVA CATHARINA SFORTIA). The use of the honorific "diva," one of many classical motifs adopted by fifteenth-century humanists, suggests that the medals are posthumous. In Imperial Rome, rulers and their wives would ascend into heaven upon death and become divine; posthumous portraits and epitaphs would include the term to indicate this new heavenly status. In the Renaissance, the term "diva" or "divo" appears most often on portrait medals as one of several ways to idealize character, although it was not used strictly for posthumous images. But taking into account the other inscriptions and the imagery on these two medals, "diva" here might just have been employed in its proper posthumous mode. Medals typically commemorate a life-changing event, and in this case, it seems to have been death. They do not likely date to her regency since she is identified by only her Sforza surname and there is no reference to the Riario family and the territories she ruled. For similar reasons, they were probably not made during the period when Caterina was released from prison and plotting with her sons to retake Imola and Forlì. It is possible that she commissioned the medals to celebrate the successful end of the lawsuit over her son Giovanni's tutelage in 1505—or even during the trial to influence the outcome—but this was a time when she had limited funds.

Foresti's biography seems to have inspired the reverses that distinguish the two versions of the medal. One presents a robed woman holding a staff, accompanied by the Sforza *biscione,* a viper devouring a baby (Illustration 5.2). The inscription, "CONSTANTIA," identifies her as the personification of the virtue Constancy. A word used frequently by Foresti in Caterina's biography to assert her worthiness to rule, constancy here could signal multiple unwavering virtues. The formulation of the personification is similar to the image of constancy on a medal of Sixtus IV, and so Caterina's medal refers visually to her della Rovere connections.[25] The reverse of the other

medal features a lengthy inscription, topped by a crown (Illustration 5.3). It reads: "Who, a paragon among the illustrious, maintained, by her singular virtue, her name, her kingdom, herself, and her children" (QVE INTER ILL SINGVLARE DECVS NOMEN REGNVM SE ET FILIOS INVLI VIRT SERVA VIT). The inscription seems very much like a eulogy, and its unqualified reference to kingdom and children is generic enough to include all her children, Riario and Medici alike. Based on this limited evidence, it seems that the medals might have been struck after her death by one of her children or even by Jacopo Fortunati to commemorate her life and benevolence.[26] Also possible is that they were part of a later Medicean celebration of her life, although inscriptions relating to Caterina from this phase understandably include the Medici name, as discussed below.

The success of Caterina's descendents ensured her fame in the following centuries. The three Riario sons who took religious orders fared well with their various appointments in the church; Galeazzo, the only one who married, became

5.2 Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse (version one), 16th century

5.3 Unknown artist, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse (version two), 16th century

a senator in Bologna and his descendents gained much prominence in that city as well as in the church hierarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[27] Giovanni de' Medici grew up to become a famous military captain, despite being for years under the close scrutiny of Pope Leo X and other Medici, who feared that he might infringe upon their own plans to increase the family's position. But Giovanni understood his place in the family hierarchy and respected his relatives. For example, during his military career, he earned the nickname "delle Bande Nere" because he and his troops wore black armbands to mourn the death of Leo X in 1521. Giovanni died in battle in 1526 at the age of twenty-seven, and although he was young, his fame was well established. His legend grew when his son Cosimo (b. 1519) was appointed the Duke of Florence in 1537 and eventually Grand Duke of Tuscany. Duke Cosimo I's statecraft included projects that extolled illustrious ancestors and they proved essential to Caterina's lasting legacy. As a token of respect, Cosimo commissioned the marble slab that marked Caterina's grave in the Murate until 1835 when the convent was deconsecrated. The inscription on the new gravestone presented the identity that Cosimo sanctioned for his grandmother: "Caterina Sforza de' Medici Countess and Mistress of Imola and Forlì, died 29 May 1509" (CATHARINA SFORTIA MEDICES COMITISSA ET DOMINA IMOLAE ET FORLIVII OBIIT III KAL JUNII MDVIIII).[28] The inscription thus emphasizes her fame as the ruler of

Imola and Forlì as well as her status as Medici matriarch, the two strands of fame that became the most significant components of Caterina's posthumous legend.

The Legend of Caterina Sforza in the Renaissance

Caterina was famous during her life, and after her death, her story expanded with legendary qualities, initially inspired by her own actions and then enriched with interpretation and exaggeration. Most importantly, Niccolò Machiavelli included analytical and, in at least one case, sensationalized references to her in *The Histories, The Discourses*, and *The Prince.*[29] Machiavelli visited Caterina's court in Forlì in 1499 as an ambassador of the Florentine Republic to negotiate a grain purchase and the renewal of her son's military contract. She apparently impressed him, since she is one of a handful of women he discusses in his writings. Even though he met her in person—or because of it—he exaggerated her history in *The Discourses*, written *c.* 1512, in which he famously dramatized her dealings with the conspirators who assassinated her husband and wanted control of the Riario fortress at Forli:

> ... Madonna Caterina ... promised that if the conspirators would let her enter the fortress, she would have it surrendered to them; [and] they might keep her children as hostages. With that promise, they let her enter. As soon as she was inside, she reproached them from the wall with the death of her husband, threatening them with every kind of revenge. And to show them that she did not care about her children [being killed], she uncovered to them her genital members, saying that she still had means for producing more children.[30]

As Julia Hairston, a scholar of Italian literature, has convincingly demonstrated, Machiavelli's version of this pivotal moment is legendary and significantly exaggerated when compared with the story that the local chronicles and ambassadorial letters present.[31] Caterina did indeed overwhelm the rebels plotting against her family, but those contemporary sources demonstrate that she accomplished this by implying she was pregnant with another child who would avenge his or her siblings and, perhaps more importantly, by harnessing the strength of her diplomatic ties and intimidating Forlì with sheer military force. Caterina literally bombarded her enemies

and dared them to go against her, and warned them that their rebellion would not be forgotten by her future children. According to historical accounts, she punctuated her statements with the obscene gesture of "the four figs," a reference to female genitalia. Machiavelli's version, written over two decades after the events, does well to illustrate his discussion of the exigency of familial vengeance, but he gratuitously transformed Caterina's gesture into actual genital exposure, implausible for a noble woman but highly symbolic. He clearly meant for his story of her overt sexual audacity to shock his audience.

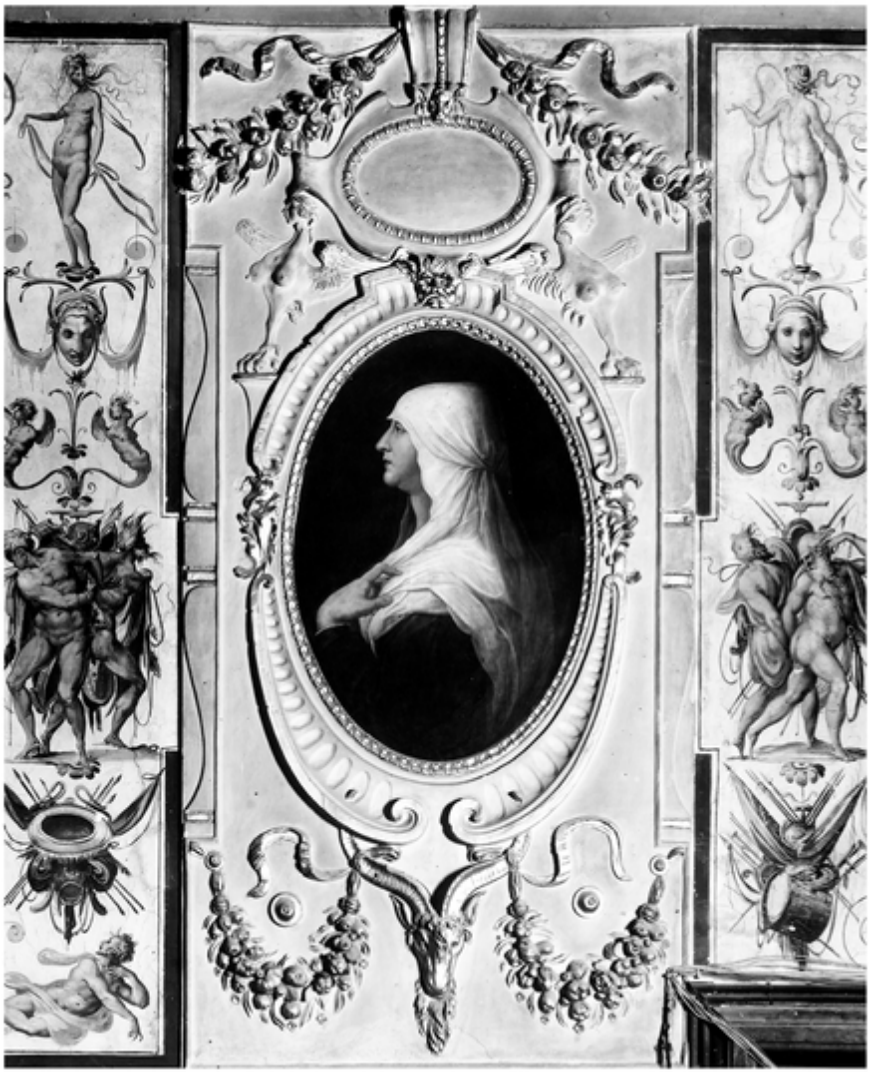
Although he did not explicitly address the issue of women's political power in his writing, Machiavelli's depiction of Caterina implies his opinion of it: women who rule transgress social codes. His take on the situation suggests that women who deny their femininity to gain political power are unfit for rule for that very reason. In this manner, his writings reveal contemporary—and specifically Florentine and Republican—tensions over, first, female political agency and, second, the sexual freedom associated with widowhood. But Machiavelli also seemed a bit nonchalant about Caterina's position. He employed the incident at the Ravaldino as one of several examples of rulers' ruthlessness, and so condemned Caterina along with her male peers. Nevertheless, with this brief passage. Machiavelli solidified Caterina's legendary status as a virago, a woman who breaks through her feminine weakness to exhibit what were considered more positive masculine characteristics. This label was first applied to Caterina during her regency, in her biography by Jacopo Foresti (1497). The demonstration of male traits was a common motif of praise in Early Modern biographies of women, and Caterina's fame lent itself to this type of gendered acclaim.[32]

The Medici family reshaped Caterina's legend in the mid-sixteenth century in part to counter Machiavelli's sexually charged account of her political actions. Immediately upon his election as duke. Cosimo began a systematic program of commissioning portraiture that extolled his rule and his noble heritage. Caterina was just one of several subjects he used in this endeavor. Because of the strong role women played in his heritage, they figured prominently in Cosimo's portrait series, in contrast to the textual histories of the Medici in the sixteenth-century.[33] Caterina's persistence in winning control of Giovanni de' Medici's patrimony and her wise choices in appointing trustworthy guardians allowed him to succeed in his short life, marry Maria Salviati, and father Cosimo. Maria, as a granddaughter of

Lorenzo il Magnifico, provided her son with the vital link to the political legitimacy of the powerful main branch of the Medici family. She was also an exemplary mother: upon Giovanni's death in 1526, she did not remarry and instead focused on her son's education. Later, Cosimo's Spanish wife Eleonora of Toledo (1522–62; married 1539) brought further power, prestige, and money to his court, and ensured the future of the new line of Medici rulers by giving birth to nine children. Cosimo commissioned portraits of both his mother and his wife that emphasize their maternal devotion, and he formulated their enduring public images.[34] The Medici found Caterina's image a bit more problematic because she had already established a distinct iconography in her portraits, and her history and legend contained much information that upset the tone of the smooth trajectory that Cosimo and others were trying to fashion for the family; for instance, her lawsuit with Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco or Machiavelli's version of the events at the Rocca di Ravaldino in April 1488. Nevertheless, Caterina's Medicean images immortalize her as a proper and iconic matriarch and widow. Not surprisingly, the Medici glossed over her Riario marriage. Although her legend turned on her noble Sforza identity and her regency of Imola and Forlì, as demonstrated by her tomb inscription, any references to her status or activities specifically as a Riario wife and widow disappeared from her posthumous portraits until the late seventeenth century.

Caterina figures as the iconic widow in the vast program Cosimo ordered to decorate the Palazzo Vecchio in the late 1550s. He had moved his family residence across the Arno to the Palazzo Pitti in 1554, and the older palace still functioned as the locus of his court with its reception rooms and government offices.[35] Cosimo used this space to extol his power and decorated it to reflect his place within the Medici lineage. Giorgio Vasari oversaw the new decoration of several rooms that each commemorate the life of an important Medici personage: Cosimo Pater Patriae, Lorenzo il Magnifico, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, Popes Leo X and Clement VII, and Duke Cosimo I himself. Each room was painted floor to ceiling with family heraldry, allegorical emblems, narrative scenes, and bust-length portraits of the main subject's immediate family members, all integrated into Active architectural framework. Caterina's likeness appears in one of the larger portraits in the room dedicated to her son Giovanni delle Bande Nere (Illustration 5.4). The room, with its series of battle scenes and portraits, is a visual archive of Giovanni's history. He. his wife Maria Salviati, and his father Giovanni di Pierfrancesco are painted in

roundels on the ceiling between his most famous battles and allegorical scenes. Caterina is more prominently featured in a large oval half-length portrait on the



5.4 Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza, c.* 1559, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

wall just below Giovanni delle Bande Nere's; the relative positions of the two make clear their filial link. She stands in profile dressed in black widow's weeds and a white veil. She gazes to the left, her chin upraised, and her left hand clutches at the veil that falls over her chest. The fresco presents no triumphal emblem, no baton of rulership

as in the woodcut from Foresti's biography, no landscape, and no inscription with the Riario name or territories. These extra symbols would have been inappropriate since none of the other portraits in the room contained anything like them. This was in part because Vasari lacked visual references from which to draw for his portraits of historical figures and events, a problem he noted in his memoirs.[36] Rather, the context of the fresco—a room dedicated to her Medici son inside the Medici stronghold—clarifies Caterings family status. She is not the widow of Girolamo Riario as in her regency medals, but the widow of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, whose portrait appears across the room. For formal and iconographical coherence, Vasari erased any references to her life beyond the Medici family. He borrowed Caterina's own self-fashioning as the dedicated mother and widow, moved it into a Medici context, and removed any specific reference to her rulership and, by default, the transgressive actions as described by Machiavelli.

Although the Medici possessed other portraits of Caterina at this time, Vasari clearly referred to her portrait medal of *c.* 1488 by Niccolò Fiorentino when devising this image (Illustration 1.7). An example of that medal is in the Bargello Museum in Florence today, and it may have come from the Medici collections. The general format and lines of the frescoed portrait closely resemble those of the medal. Vasari may have consulted other portraits of Caterina owned by the Medici, but all of these have been lost or remain unidentified and so it is difficult to determine their influence. Medici inventories refer to several portraits of Caterina. The Medici inventory of 1553 records "a head of the Madonna of Imola, mother of Signor Giovanni"; and since it is listed with other sculpted images and then reappears in a later inventory as "a head with the bust," scholars have assumed it is a sculpted bust and speculated that it might be a death mask.[37] Another lost portrait is a small painting of the "Signora of Imola" by either Francesco or Bernardino Zaganelli da Cotignola that appears in the Medici inventories of 1560 and *c.* 1567.[38] Finally, "one portrait of the Madonna of Imola" is listed in an inventory from 1574.[39] While art historians have searched for these images, they have never positively identified any of them. Doris Carl posited that Vasari drew upon another lost portrait of Caterina, this one the unfinished painting documented in Filippino Lippi's studio after his death in 1504 (discussed in Chapter 3).[40] The portrait was found next to an image of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, and the two may have eventually made their way into the Medici collections.[41] Despite the

lack of extant works now, there were portraits of Caterina in the Medici holdings around the time Vasari's workshop frescoed the image.

A subtle and yet complex reference to the vast family ties that emanated from Caterina is implicit in one of the vignettes of Giovanni delle Bande Nere's victories in the Palazzo Vecchio room dedicated to him. The scene above Caterina's and her son's portraits commemorates the battle of San Secondo, fought in 1522 to protect Bianca Riario's regency over her husband's territories. Here, soldiers storm her family's fortress of San Secondo, which is located near Parma. Bianca's husband Troilo de'Rossi had died in 1521 and she had been appointed *tutrice* and regent for her eldest son Pier Maria until he reached adulthood.[42] A year later, Rossi cousins, who believed they had been shortchanged in an inheritance two generations earlier, attacked San Secondo, and Giovanni de' Medici came to Bianca's rescue. He saved the Rossi patrimony for her children, his nephews. Pier Maria de' Rossi was so impressed with Giovanni's military prowess that he joined his troops in the later 1520s. In fact, Giovanni, on his deathbed, requested that Pier Maria take over his command.[43] The social ties between the Rossi and Medici families deepened when Bianca's daughter Angela de' Rossi married one of Giovanni's commanders, Vitello Vitelli, in 1522. Bianca's second son Giovangirolamo, who entered the cleigy. received favors from both of his maternal grandparents' families. Not only did Raffaele Riario cede to him some of his offices, but both of the Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, advanced his career considerably. Finally, Giovangirolamo composed in the 1540s what would become the most authoritative biography of Giovanni delle Bande Nere de' Medici, and presented a special version to Cosimo I in the late 1550s.[44] By the time that Cosimo commissioned the images in the room that heroicized his father Giovanni in the Palazzo Vecchio, Giovangirolamo was a member of the Medici court, and other members of the Rossi family and even Caterina's son Carlo Feo were at least peripheral members of the ducal entourage in Florence. While the small fresco of the battle of San Secondo above Caterina's profile does not spell out explicitly all of these family ties, it provided a quick prompt for informed members of the court and visitors to remember the story, its characters, and their intricate connections. All hinged upon Caterina, whose portrait below served as another stimulus for a discussion of valor, whether Giovanni's or her own.

Giovangirolamo de' Rossi edited his biography of Giovanni delle Bande Nere when he gave it to Cosimo I, and this version is an

example of how the Medici court preferred to downplay any blemishes from the family's past. One of the most significant omissions from the presentation copy is the account of Caterina's legal battle with Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco over Giovanni's patrimony, which appears in the original text. Instead of discussing Lorenzo's avarice or Caterina's victory over it, as in the original, Giovangirolamo praised her dedication to her son and glosses over any unpleasant tensions within the family.[45] In this way. the revised text demonstrates a similar land of generalization seen in Vasari's portrait of Caterina—only her role as loyal widow and dedicated mother are important, and not the details of how she achieved it. While the specifics could be discussed in front of the image or over the text, both the Vasari image and the Medici biography are lasting records of a carefully constructed yet fragmented history.

This type of reconstruction of the past continued under Cosimo I's son Francesco I. who carried on the program of portraying Medici ancestors during his reign. In 1584–85, Francesco commissioned twenty-seven portraits that formed the basis of the Serie Aulica, which was continually augmented until the Medici line expired in the eighteenth century.[46] As part of the series, the painter Lorenzo Vaiani, called

5.5 Lorenzo Vaiani, called lo Sciorina, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de 'Medici,* 1584–85

lo Sciorina, completed a double portrait of Cosimo's grandparents, Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and Caterina Sforza (1585; Illustration 5.5).[47] The couple stands in almost full-length, and they appear to be in conversation. Giovanni carries a letter in one hand and points to the ground with the other; Caterina clutches a handkerchief in her left hand and raises the right to her breast. These gestures and attributes may be an allusion to the emotional pain they felt during one of the couple's many separations or even to their eternal separation when Giovanni unexpectedly died in 1498. Caterina is in fact dressed as a widow in a somber black dress and veil, just like in

the Vasarian image, which seems to have been the image of inspiration for lo Sciorina; he simply turned her body for a more frontal pose. The artist clearly looked to another painting. Filippino Lippi's San Donato di Scopeto *Adoration of the Magi* (1496), for Giovanni's portrait. Vasari believed the Lippi panel contained portraits of the cadet branch of the Medici family and identified the young and well-dressed man in a red cloak on the left as Giovanni.[48] Vasari's authority prompted the younger artist to adapt the two earlier figures for the new double portrait.

Because of the nature of copying from another image, some curious inconsistencies appear in the Sciorina portrait. Some conventions of iconography appear to be atemporal. Caterina appears as an aging widow, dressed in widow's weeds, alongside her still-living husband; Giovanni has been allowed to stay eternally young. Lo Sciorina certainly meant for her to be a strong and faithful Medici widow here, just as she was in the Palazzo Vecchio fresco. But the fact that she appears in a widow's somber clothing while her Medici husband is still alive opens up a fissure in the smooth arc of Medici history. How could she have been a Medici widow when Giovanni was still alive? Is she his widow or someone else's in this image? The portrait thus inadvertently refers to her marriage to Girolamo Riario, and raises some potentially problematic issues in Caterina's history. In her last testament, she declared that both her sons Carlo Feo and Giovanni de' Medici were legitimate, and the documents from the lawsuit over the latter's patrimony consistently refer to his father as Caterina's husband.[49] No marriage contract or record survives for either marriage, but the Pupilli magistrates and, later, most of her biographers took her word that at least the Medici marriage had actually taken place. But if she was still mourning a previous husband, how could she have secretly married Giovanni? Would this not tarnish her virtue and loyalty? Both Cosimo I and Francesco I firmly cast her marriage to Giovanni as fact and did not acknowledge impropriety. Perhaps viewers of the image in the late sixteenth century accepted her widowhood as part of her cunning regency statecraft—that it was necessary for her to publicly mourn Girolamo even as she married Giovanni. More likely, by this time her generic widowhood iconography had become her primary attribute and the details of exactly whom she was mourning were glossed over. The visual language presented in the Sciorina portrait thus further suggests that the Medici constructed an official image of Caterina as Medici widow, and that this superseded her role as wife or regent. While Caterina

was referred to in Medici inventories as the "Madonna d'Imola," a clear textual reference to her regency, in images, her sexual loyalty, demonstrated by her widow's weeds, was more important.

In this regard the iconography formulated by the Medici court for Caterina was similar to that of Maria Salviati, wife of Giovanni delle Bande Nere and mother

5.6 Jacopo Pontormo, *Portrait of Maria Salviati,* 1437–43

of Cosimo I. Maria became a widow in 1526 when she was just twenty-seven years old and her son only seven. She never remarried and devoted the rest of her life to Cosimo's education, just as Caterina devoted her last years to her son Giovanni's education. Cosimo

understandably venerated his mother as the faithful and dutiful widow who had successfully prepared him for an illustrious life. He commissioned several portraits of her, including two by Pontormo (both after 1537; Illustration 5.6) and another by Bronzino (c. 1540).[50] In each image, she is dressed in somber clothing and veiled; her attributes among the three include a child, perhaps Cosimo or his cousin Giulia de' Medici (who was being reared by Maria after her father Alessandro was assassinated by Cosimo), a book, and a portrait medal. Thus, the symbols that Cosimo requested for his mother's visual legacy are typical signs of widowhood, motherhood, and intellect. Later. Maria and her husband Giovanni delle Bande Nere merited a painting for the Serie Aulica. Like lo Sciorina, Giovanni Battista Naldini based his figures on earlier portraits, in this case those by Pontormo and Bronzino. Maria appears veiled as a widow and Giovanni wears his armor as if he had stepped off the battlefield. The juxtaposition of these two copied portraits creates a strangeness akin to that seen in lo Sciorina's double portrait of Caterina and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco. In both cases, the women are widows who appear with their still-living husbands. Even if it did not always make visual sense, widowhood was a safe and successful role for these Medici mothers in the sixteenth century.

In the Medici court during the seventeenth century, Caterina's iconography became more nuanced and began to make reference to her regency and rule. Coinciding with this trend is Traiano Boccalini's 1612 fictional trial of Caterina for her unfeminine actions after her husband's murder.[51] In this polemic, the judge Apollo notes that while women must be modest, when called upon to rule, noblewomen were obliged to display virility. With the rise of several prominent female rulers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, this approval of Caterina exemplifies a changing political reality even while it underscores the transgressive aspects of women's power. The Medici court was conservative, so this move toward the acceptance of a fuller picture of Caterina was slow to come. But by the late seventeenth century, a subtle shift had occurred. Around 1665–70, Leopoldo de' Medici commissioned Alessandro Segni to compile a list of *imprese* and emblems for all of the Medici family.[52] The motto he formulated for Caterina was "She remains unshakeable" *(Inconcussa manet)*, and the emblem "Cliffs that jut out into a tempestuous sea" *(Rupe che si sporge in mare tempestoso)*.[53] Many of Segni's mottos and emblems subsequently served as sources for both engravings and medals produced in successive centuries. Segni's motto for Caterina, while

never exactly repeated in later images, nevertheless reopened the possibility of a more complex identity for her than the previously-sanctioned iconography as the good widow. The new inscription and iconography was ambiguous enough to allow for her "tempestuous" regency to be remembered as well as her dedicated mother- and widowhood. In the age of Elizabeth I and other strong female rulers, Caterina's regency was now something her descendants could celebrate. This new socio-political context, combined with historical distance, rendered acceptable some of her once questionable actions as widow.

By the early eighteenth century, Caterina's iconography had come full-circle, although in the process it had lost some of its impact from her regency years. Just after the last of the Medici grand dukes died without an heir, Antonio Selvi designed a series of medals in 1739 to commemorate the now-defunct

5.7 Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* obverse, 1739

dynasty.[54] He chose to follow Segni's model for Caterina in spirit and referred explicitly to her role as ruler. Instead of composing a new iconography, Selvi based his two medals of Caterina on her regency medal of *c*. 1488 (Illustrations 1.7 and 1.8). Both examples exhibit the same obverse: Caterina appears as a veiled widow, her face in profile and her bust in a three-quarter pose (Illustration 5.7). In response to current fashions, her clothing and veil are more elaborate than in her previous portraits: her bodice is tied at the top, her veil reveals her ears, and she wears drop earrings. The inscription reduces her name to "Caterina Sforza de' Medici" (CATHARINA SFORZA MEDICES). The reverse of each version carries the same inscription "Fame follows victory" (VICTORIA FAMA SEQVETVR), but here a miscopy from the original of 1488. Only the emblems on the reverses differ. One displays a figure of Victory in a chariot flying over a landscape through clouds, an updated and more flamboyant version of the triumphal cart from the fifteenth-century medal (Illustration 5.8) The emblem on the other medal is the Sforza viper, which could serve a double role here since it had become a symbol of the Hapsburg family in the sixteenth century (Illustration 5.9). Caterina's status could benefit from this visual alignment to the powerful dynasty that still ruled much of southern Europe and to whom the Medici were connected by marriage.

5.8 Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza*, reverse (version one), 1739

Both emblems assert Caterina's family connections, fame, and victory, themes that she so carefully cultivated during her Riario regency, but here the words and symbols make no reference to that family or their territories, only the Sforza and the Medici. Thus the triumphal cart, fundamental to Caterina's iconography of political power, remains unqualified by any specific reference to territories or titles. Selvi produced his series of Medici medals for public sale, not on commission from the family and not just for courtly exchange. They were meant as collector's items, and Caterina's two medals demonstrate how by the eighteenth century her identity had evolved within Medici history. While her fame and triumph were certainly something to be celebrated, the details were murky. Any reference to the Riario had disappeared, even though her descendents in that family line had gained considered social status and prominence with the church hierarchy by this time. The medals display the

fundamental components of her popular fame in the late Early Modern period: her Sforza and Medici status combined with a general theme of victory.

5.9 Antonio Selvi, *Portrait medal of Caterina Sforza,* reverse (version two), 1739

Another adaptation of Caterina's regency motto more specifically explains her fame in an engraving from the later eighteenth century. Francesco Allegrini completed this print in 1761 as part of another series extolling the expired Medici line.[55] Caterina's portrait resembles that of Selvi's medal, which was most certainly its inspiration (Illustration 5.10). Her head is in profile and her body posed in

VICTORIA FAMA SEQVETVR
CATHARINA GALEACII SFORTIAE F.
IOHANNIS MED. PETRI FRANC. F. VXOR
Ex Mus. Laurentii Nobili
Affo l'Allegrini in Firenze

5.10 Francesco Allegrini, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza,* Plate 18 from *Chronologica series simulacrorum regiae familiae Mediceae centum expressa toreumis* (Florence. 1761)

a three-quarter view; she wears a veil and a simple dress, but no jewelry. Her features are simplified, and her profile bears a passing resemblance to those on her fifteenth-century medals. The motto "VICTORIA FAMA SEQVETVR," still spelled incorrectly and so presumably copied from the Selvi version appears on a ribbon that flutters below the oval portrait. A plaque with a miniature version of

the Selvi victory cart flying over clouds secures the ribbon in the center. The caption below identifies her as "Caterina, daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, faithful wife of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici" (CATHARINA GALEACII SFORTIAE F./IOHANNIS MED. PETRIFRANC. F. VXOR). Thus the inscription further elaborates on her status and subtly shapes Caterinas fame to reflect a clear patriarchical order. She was the daughter of a powerful duke and the faithful wife of one of the illustrious Medici men. Her fame, as implied in this context, must stem from those patriarchical and seemingly passive relationships. What occurred between her youth as daughter of Galeazzo and her later years as the wife of Giovanni—Riario marriage, widowhood, and regency—have been eliminated, and the victory cart is open to interpretation by the informed viewer. The omission of this important phase of her life is redressed in the modern period, when Caterina's legend developed in more actively heroic terms.

Caterina Sforza and Italian Nationalism

In the nineteenth century, Caterina Sforza's triumphant regency returned as a prominent component of her history, something to be celebrated. This was in large part due to the rise of nationalism during the years around Italy's unification in 1860. Full-length biographies of Caterina appeared and her legend reached a more popular audience through abridged versions, as well as poetry, plays, and exhibitions of images. The nineteenth-century story of Caterina in many ways was a continuation of the legend that had developed locally in the Romagna region of Italy, outside of the Medici court. While her status as wife, widow, and mother dominated her Medicean legend, her fame as an exceptional and active woman was the focus of her role in provincial Romagnole history. The Forlivese notary Fabio Oliva had written the first extended biography of Caterina back in the mid-sixteenth century, but his short book had remained in manuscript form until a demand for its publication arose in 1821.[56] The fact that the book had been composed only a few decades after the very time it described added to its aura of authenticity. Oliva lived in Forlì in the decades after Caterina's death and he probably heard first-hand accounts, some of them most likely already legendary, of her regency. To supplement these stories, he explored documents that survived in her former territories and their local chronicles. His biography of Caterina reads

as a narrative of historical and political events along with some local gossip, but he extolled his subject as exceptional in all regards, especially for her brave rule. For Oliva, Caterings fame illuminated the provincial region. It was no surprise that his book found a wider audience in the nineteenth century, when provincial history and heroes, especially from the Early Modern era, were desirable propaganda for the emergent Italian nation.[57]

The printing of Oliva's sixteenth-century book was preceded by the 1795 publication of a longer biography of Caterina by the Spanish Abbé Antonio Burriel, who lived much of his life in Forlì and was just as invested in the city's history.[58] In his more in-depth three-volume biography of Caterina, Burriel drew upon the same sources as Oliva and added information gleaned from later sources including local histories and documents from the later generations of the Riario family in Bologna and Naples. He too celebrated his subject and demonstrated how she had become one of the most popular local characters. For both of these Forlivese writers, Caterina's exceptionality was a means to bring status to their provincial town—her fame is the town's fame.[59] The fact that she met with some local opposition during her regency was in retrospect beside the point.

These two biographies provided a strong foundation for Caterina's characterization as a flamboyant woman who transgresses nearly every social code in exemplary histories and other texts composed in the modern period. This picture of Caterina is rather different from the version produced within the more controlled Medici court, and its potential for sensationalism proved extremely popular. Notions of the strong "Italian character" were especially important at this time, and Caterina became one of several historical figures, including her son Giovanni delle Bande Nere, who came to exemplify the greatness of the Italian past.[60] They had proven their formidable spirits centuries earlier, but their examples could be further massaged to positively shape Italy's future as well.

This type of edification was one of the motivations of Pier Desiderio Pasolini, who published a multi-volume biography of Caterina in 1893. It proved popular enough to merit a condensed version in 1913, and its translation into several languages, including English in 1898 and French in 1912.[61] This biography remains influential and has been the main source for many subsequent biographers of Caterina. Pasolini was determined to portray her history accurately, and he completed extensive archival research throughout Italy to achieve this. In fact volume three of his original

version contains transcriptions of hundreds of letters and documents regarding Caterina and the Sforza, Riario, and Medici courts; he published another volume of documents in 1897.[62] Pasolini clearly acknowledged the problems of trying to recreate the past or characterize someone long dead, and writes of his disdain for the legendary accounts of Caterina's life:

> The figure presented to us by the biographers is so intangible that we cannot grasp it, the one created by tradition melts under the test of documents. The legends have some, but not all, of the elements of truth, and even this truth is vitiated, the exception standing for the rule, and fantastic stories for history. The aim of this present book, which reproduces many of Catherine's letters, is to bring her nearer to us than has been done by any preceding work.[63]

Pasolini achieved his goal to a large extent, but he engaged in plenty of the legend-making that he wanted to avoid. Nevertheless, Pasolini's biography of Caterina offers great insights into her circumstances, and like those of his Romagnole predecessors, continues to celebrate Caterina's brave politics and courageous fighting. He seems to have been truly fascinated with his subject, a woman who brought honor to his region and provided prestigious historical connections for himself since he was a descendent of a noble family of Ravenna whose fifteenth-century ancestors interacted with the neighboring Riario court. Pasolini, who often emphasized her gender, cast Caterina as a great female regent, one of several of her time but exceptional in her cunning; thus his volumes fit well into the modem movement to define the long-standing strength of the Italian character.

Virtually all the many subsequent Italian biographies of Caterina—one seems to be published every decade or so—spring from Pasolini's. His great work served as a model for more condensed versions of Caterina's life from Angelo Braschi, a Romagnole historian; Mario Tabanelli, an Italian historian of military and diplomatic history who also published books on Machiavelli and Giovanni delle Bande Nere; Natale Graziani and Gabriella Venturelli, whose 1987 biography of Caterina is part of a series devoted to extolling the lives of great Italian women; and Cecilia Brogi, who further underscored Caterina's exceptionality.[64] These works reiterate the two largest themes that became popular in Caterina's modern textual legend: the fierce Romagnole ruler who was an exception to her sex. In these biographies, the trope that Machiavelli began in the early sixteenth century, that is, using Caterina's sexuality as a metaphor for her political boldness, still holds sway. The repetitive presentation of

Caterina's legendary history reinforced its veracity. This type of selective memory was part of the conscious construction of cultural identity practiced during Italian unification, and this nationalist impulse still dominates scholarly and popular biographies alike.

Caterina continues to be one of the most popular and infamous characters of Iinolese and Forlivese history. In 2000, she was the focus of an exhibition "Caterina Sforza, una donna del Cinquecento," which explored local Renaissance culture through period artifacts, all on display in the Rocca Sforzesca in Imola. The essays in the accompanying catalogue understandably emphasize Caterina's fame and singularity, even as they place her into a larger context of Renaissance culture.[65] Some of the essays earn on themes from earlier manifestations of Caterina's biographies. For instance, in their article on women's portrait medals, the art historians Eleonora Luciano and Elena Corradini defined Caterina's visual identity in relation to her husband and lovers and ignored the larger historical and political climate as a means to gain insight into her public presentation.[66] In doing so, they glossed over her agency as a ruler-regent and instead focused on her uniqueness in terms of her sexual relationships, much in the model that Machiavelli set forth. In twenty-first-century Italy, the popularity of Caterina's easy-to-sensationalize story still feeds her legend as the exceptional woman.

Italian national pride boosted interest in Caterina's biographies, but it also increased the desire to visualize her. Portraits commemorated many noble women and Caterina was no exception, and many of these Early Modem portraits made their way into museum collections as they were being established in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for Caterina's fans, by the modern era. portraits that dated to her lifetime were scarce. The only secure portraits are the carefully inscribed medals and the many posthumous images, even if several historical sources refer to portraits that presumably dated to her life. For instance. Biagio Bonaccorsi asked Machiavelli to send him a portrait of Caterina when the young diplomat was visiting her court in July 1499: "I would like it if, on the next horse out, you could send me a folio with the portrait of the head of Madonna [Caterina Sforza], *like the others from there that are often enough made,* and if you send it, roll it so it will not be crushed" (my emphasis).[67] There was a courtly practice of artists making quick sketches and even paintings in the presence of their patrons for entertainment, and Bonaccorsi might have been making reference to this activity in Caterina's court.[68] His words also tantalizingly suggest that there were once many of these

images and that they were in demand and in wide circulation. In any case, none of them seem to have survived, and there is no evidence regarding whether Machiavelli carried out the request or not. This brief letter raises several questions, including who was producing all of these images of Caterina, who possessed them, what did they do with them, and how did she appear? Such is the case for other documented but lost portraits. These sorts of textual clues to Caterina's portraits spurred scholars and amateurs alike in their search in the nineteenth and twentieth century for images of the "Madonna d'Imola" in the likely places of Imola, Forlì, Rome, and Florence.

Quite a number of Renaissance-era Florentine, Roman, and Romagnole paintings of unknown women who are veiled, attractive, and/or blonde have been erroneously labeled "Caterina Sforza." Indeed, at least one contemporary monumental portrait of such a famous woman should exist, and various scholars have tried to identify her within images by Giovanni Bellini, Lorenzo di Credi, and Florentine and Ferrarese masters. This trend reflects the nationalist desire for representations of famous historical personages made by prominent or even local artists, a means to boost provincial pride. The desire for portraits of local heroes and heroines in the nineteenth century seems to have in turn nurtured a sort of competition in the newly established Italian museum system to identify and display images of the most famous historical characters by the best artists. As Carlo Grigioni wrote in 1956 about images in Forlì, there had been a "long-standing infatuation to see the images of the Riario-Sforza family in every painting that dates to three or four centuries ago."[69] He demonstrated how female donors and saints who appear in the Forlivese artist Marco Palmezzano's paintings have habitually been identified as Caterina, even against existing evidence. For instance, the family of donors in his *Madonna and Child with Saints* in San Biagio in San Girolamo (as the church of San Girolamo has been called since the eighteenth century) was once identified as the Riario-Sforza even though only two children are present and the chapel belonged to the Acconci family (Illustration 5.11).[70]

5.11 Marco Palmezzano, *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints, c.* 1480, San Biagio in San Girolamo, Forlì

The fact that a completely accurate knowledge of Caterina's likeness is impossible lends itself to speculation in attributions. The only images that survive from her lifetime are medals in which she is depicted in profile, which of course only offers a limited view. During her life, Caterina's appearance was verbally described as beautiful, well-dressed, and elegant, words that were part of the exaggerated courtly rhetoric and are ambiguous enough to be molded to fit an array of physical realities. Nineteenth-century scholars, testing their newly developed connoisseurship abilities, searched for fifteenth-century images of women that fit into these broad parameters and also resembled Caterina's portrait medals; they especially focused on works produced in the regions where she had lived. This means of identification is tricky—one can see a resemblance where there is none if the evidence is well argued. More specific components such as a family coat of arms or some other emblem or inscription can better identify the sitter. Caterina and nobles like her were very careful in

their self-presentation and they quite consciously added emblems and inscriptions to explain and qualify their idealized portraits. Several of the images associated with Caterina over the years have been those that do not contain these positive visual cues, and are thus open to interpretation. While scholars have refuted many of these kinds of speculative attributions in the late twentieth century, some remain popular.

Suggestive documentary evidence combined with the presence of an unidentified female portrait led to a number of misidentifications. As discussed above, a number of portraits of Caterina appeared in Medici inventories, including the entry from 1553, "a head of the Madonna of Imola, mother of Signor Giovanni." Adolf Gottschewski argued a century ago that this referred to a sculpted death mask, and specifically the death mask of a veiled woman now in the Bargello museum of Florence. While the inventoried portrait likely refers to a sculpture. Gottschewski's argument is circular: the Bargello mask portrays Caterina because a sculpted image of Caterina may have once existed. He buttressed his identification with a comparison of the death mask to her visage as seen in the Vasari portrait, completed posthumously, and her portrait medals, all in profile. While all of these portraits display a woman, and all but the earliest medal with a veil, beyond these superficial similarities, there is not much physical evidence to tie the Bargello bust to Caterina. In this case, the Medici inventories seem to have provided tantalizing archival evidence that encouraged a much needed and desired attribution. Gottschewski in a sense could have killed two birds with one stone when he identified the inventoried image as a death mask and the Bargello death mask as Caterina's. The Bargello bust has since lent itself to diverse identifications, such as Ginevra Calvalcanti, the wife of Lorenzo di Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici who died after 1464, and others, a sign of its malleable appearance and constant association with Medici women.[71]

Caterina's family connections have also figured in the identification of a painted portrait in the Pitti Palace, once a Medici residence and now an exhibition hall for their collections and more. This small oil on panel has long been debated as one her portraits (Illustration 5.12).[72] The painting displays a woman whose face is in profile and body is in a three-quarter pose, much like Caterina's posthumous portraits from the eighteenth century and Leonardo's drawing of Isabella d'Este (1500). The sitter wears the simple clothes of a widow, a black dress over a white chemise and an ivory veil. She wears gloves and in one

hand holds a small greenish object, probably a leaf, but perhaps a letter. There are no other identifiers, emblem, inscription, or signature, to

5.12 Piero di Cosimo, *Portrait of a Woman, c.* 1500–10

indicate who this may be. Nevertheless, for over a century it was labeled as Caterina probably because of its presence in the Pitti collection. Related to this identification, for many years the portrait was attributed to the prolific Forlivese painter Marco Palmezzano.

Carlo Grigioni, who spent years studying the artist's works, thought that the argument to attribute the painting to the artist was based solely on what he considered to be the misidentification of the sitter as Caterina and not on any stylistic affinity to the artist's other pieces. Palmezzano worked extensively in Forlì, where he finished the frescoes in the Feo Chapel after the death of Melozzo da Forlì, perhaps at the request of Caterina. and it is not unlikely that he painted an image of her at some point. But the attribution faltered on more than just a lack of similarity to the artist's style. Grigioni did not recognize any physical resemblance between this painted woman's profile and Caterina's on her portrait medals. He concluded, "if it is not Sforza, the one extremely tenuous thread that links the portrait to the name of Palmezzano is lost."[73]

Beyond Palmezzano, the portrait has merited other attributions. When she included the painting in her compendium of images of the Medici family, Karla Langedijk heeded Grigioni's rejection of Palmezzano as the artist and instead attributed the Pitti image to one of the Zaganelli brothers, painters who worked in the Romanga in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[74] While the image is only vaguely similar to either brother's style, there is a reference to a portrait of Caterina by one of the Zaganelli in the Medici inventory of 1560 that Langedijk cited to reinforce her attribution.[75] The inventory entry provided tantalizing evidence—if the subject is Caterina, the artist must be one of the brothers, or alternately, if the artist is one of the brothers, the sitter must be Caterina. The art historian Serena Padovani cleared up the attribution problem in 2000 when she convincingly argued that Piero di Cosimo, the distinctive Florentine artist who worked in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, executed the painting.[76] Padovani considered Grigioni's misgivings about the sitter's appearance, but hesitated to dismiss completely the possibility that the portrait depicts the famous woman. To explain its lack of resemblance to the portrait medals, she suggested that Caterina might have commissioned it as an idealized image when she was living in Florence. Portraits of noble women were often idealized. The most famous adherent to this practice was Isabella d'Este, who preferred her portraits by Leonardo (1500) and Titian (1534) because they made her appear thinner, younger, and more beautiful than others.[77] But the Pitti portrait does not seem not sufficiently "beautiful" to be idealized; rather, it seems to be a rather modest depiction of a woman. Even Nello Tarchiani, who assumed it represented Caterina, writes in his 1939 catalogue of the Pitti that the

artist "has certainly not flattered the celebrated woman."[78] The painted lady is young and thin, but there does not seem to be a Renaissance treatise on female beauty that prescribes adding bumps to a nose to create a more desirable silhouette. In a profile portrait, the nose is perhaps the most important physical identifier, and this one does not point to Caterina's portrait medals. Furthermore, there are no emblems or specific indicators of the woman's identity, something that neither Caterina nor someone concerned with her commemoration would have omitted.

5.13 Lorenzo di Credi, *Portrait of a Young Woman with Jasmine,* 1485–90

This type of misattribution was not limited to images in Florentine collections, but also occurred to portraits in Roman and Romagnole museums. For instance, Armando Schiavo asserted in a 1969 article that a painting of a dark-haired young woman by a fifteenth-century Ferrarese artist in the Capitoline Museum of Rome was an early

portrait of Caterina.[79] His reasoning was vague, and the portrait bears little resemblance to Caterina's medals, or to any image of her, and there are no symbols to reveal a family name. If this were in fact an image of her painted by an artist from Ferrara who was visiting Milan or Rome in the late 1470s or early 1480s, the portrait would likely have borne her father's or husband's family crest. Although there has been no published follow-up to Schiavo's assertion, the museum has dropped the identification and the image now is generically labeled as a young woman.

There is a bit more evidence to support the possibility of Caterina's representation in other paintings from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, but not enough to make a fully positive identification. First is the portrait of a woman holding jasmine blossoms by the Florentine artist Lorenzo di Credi in the Pinacoteca Civica of Forlì (Illustration 5.13). The painted woman is sweetly pretty and blonde, and her attributes, the flowers and the fortress in the background, are attributes that could associate her with Caterina. The flowers may refer to the sitter's beauty and could even refer to Caterina's garden and her experiments with herbal remedies (including those to lighten hair); the fortress was a common symbol of power that Caterina used on her coins.[80] These important attributes aside, there is no coat of arms, name, or monogram to qualify those ambiguous emblems. While it continues to be catalogued as an anonymous young woman it is popularly considered to be a portrait of Caterina and was in fact included as her likeness in the 2000 exhibition "Caterina Sforza, una donna del Cinquecento" and on the cover of the 2001 Mondadori edition of her biography by Graziani and Venturelli.[81] Ernst Breisach used another portrait of an unknown woman, a Saint Catherine of Alexandria in the Staatliche Lindenau Museen at Altenburg, Germany, to represent Caterina in his 1967 biography.[82] The woman's strong profile is somewhat similar to Caterina's and it is an image of her name saint, but x-rays revealed that the saint's attributes were a later addition. This does not preclude it from being a portrait of Caterina, who could have commissioned a portrait like this and then later ordered the addition of the saintly attributes. But the attribution to Botticelli seems a stretch and this overconfidence seems to extend to its identification. Representations of Saint Catherine were quite common in the Renaissance, as was the name Caterina. and there is no other emblem or symbol to link it definitively to Caterina Sforza. For all of these images, the absence of more explicit identifiers overrides the impact of a slight physical

affinity and ambiguous symbols.

The circumstances around the production of the now-destroyed lunette fresco in the Feo Chapel provide the most tempting evidence to encourage the identification of another possible fifteenth-century portrait of Caterina (Illustration 4.8). As discussed in Chapter 4, Caterina might have taken over the commission of the chapel's frescoes after Giacomo Feo's death, and the veiled female pilgrim, kneeling in the manner of a donor figure, very much resembled Caterina, as seen on her medals and in the woodcut from Foresti's biography. If she did oversee its completion, whether as a ruler or wife or both, it would have been appropriate for her to appear as a pious donor. Other figures in the fresco, specifically the man kneeling next to the woman and the young man standing behind the two, have been variously labeled as Giacomo Feo, Girolamo Riairo, and Ottaviano Riario, so the fresco has long served as fodder for imaginative identifications.[85] No documents have surfaced regarding the details of the commission or its iconography, so any identification no matter how compelling, remains hypothetical.

5.14 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza, c.* 19th century

The modern desire for images of Caterina also led to the

production of new portraits based on earlier images or even an artist's personal fantasy. Their existence can perhaps be related to the rise of Caterina's popularity upon the publication of her biographies by Burriel in 1795 and by Pasolini in 1893, and later variants. They appear to be eighteenth or nineteenth century copies of her portraits by Vasari or lo Sciorino, and were often included in series of famous people. Caterina's portrait on cardboard in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is part of a cycle on Medici family members, copied from the Serie Aulica in the Uffizi and the small portrait on display in the Biblioteca Comunale, Imola, similar to the Vasari image, is part of a series of local figures (Illustration 5.14).[84] These copies do not offer any new versions of Caterina's iconography, but they do underline her on-going configuration as widow.

Another small portrait, an oil-on-cardboard painting of a widow that hangs in the Communal Library of Faenza, further demonstrates the modern desire for images of Caterina (Illustration 5.15). The portrait is a copy of the head of the last woman in the entourage visiting Saint Anne in the *Birth of the Virgin* painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1485–90). The original figure has traditionally been identified as Lucrezia Tournabuoni, wife of Lorenzo de' Medici, but art historian Anna Tambini has instead suggested that the Faentine image may be Caterina and offers two cases for the dates of its production—one from the nineteenth centuty and another from the late fifteenth century.[85] It seems unlikely that a Renaissance artist would have consciously copied a portrait of a woman from the Ghirlandaio fresco for a portrait of a different woman, namely Caterina. There are several later cardboard portraits of Medici family members—the series in Vienna, for instance—and this could be another example of the same. Perhaps a nineteenth-century artist copied the Ghirlandaio image outright as a portrait of Lucrezia, or used it as a general or even misidentified model for Caterina. In either case, the fact that it can be identified as a portrait of Caterina demonstrates the demand for depictions of the locally famous woman.

5.15 Unknown artist, *Portrait of a woman, c.* 19th ccntury

The most interesting and original of all these modern portraits of Caterina is a romantic full-length version painted by Dario Gobbi in 1914, now in the collection of Imola's Musei Civici at the Rocca Sforzesca (Illustration 5.16). Gobbi used his imagination to capture the moment when Caterina was being taken prisoner by the French at the Rocca di Ravaldino in Forlì in January 1500. In his painting, she appears in distress, her hand on her breast, and her brow furrowed. The artist made a passing reference to the Vasari and lo Sciorina images with the gesture of her hand, and like those portraitists, he took liberties with her appearance. Caterina is very youthful and slim, and her figure does not reflect the fact that she had borne nine children by this time. But Gobbi followed the chronicler Bernardi's description of the clothing Caterina wore during her negotiations with Cesare Borgia: a luxurious black silk gown and a sheer cotton veil.[86] As in the famous Romantic-era painting, Goya's

5.16 Dario Gobbi, *The Capture of Caterina Sforza,* 1914

The Third of May 1808 (1814), Gobbi showcased his victim—Caterina —as a martyr and rendered the enemies as armored machines,

virtually faceless as they carry out their mission. On display in her former fortress, the painting surely inspires its viewers to imagine in vivid detail the events that occurred centuries ago in another nearby fortress.

Gobbi's painting is similar to another early-twentieth-century dramatization of Caterina's life in a play written by Sem Benelli. He was a playwright who oscillated between socialism and fascism and was at one time heralded as Italy's answer to Shakespeare. In 1934. he published *Caterina Sforza,* a play that again reveals the popularity of flamboyant historic characters in modern Italy.[87] Caterina is a heroine throughout, ruled by no one but committed to Renaissance ideals of behavior. Like Machiavelli's account of her on the ramparts of the Ravaldino, Benelli's characterization of Caterina is highly sexualized—there are a number of scenes that depict her as a sex object for her husband Girolamo and his uncle Pope Sixtus IV, while Giacomo Feo is clearly her own sexual plaything. Benelli's Caterina is a life-time Medici supporter, to the extent that she even confronts Girolamo about his anti-Medici sentiments. But the author curiously omitted any reference to her Medici alliance, marriage, or motherhood. He instead focused on her strong will to survive and live well. Her final scene is one of piety and nostalgia for a life fiercely lived. She is thus a woman of high appetites for sex and power, yet her constancy stands out and even transforms her into a chaste believer in the Medici cause. Through his depiction of Caterina, Benelli affirmed that famous family's legacy, which began at the height of Italian history, the Renaissance, and so further bolstered a sense of a lasting and positive national cultural identity. Benelli's Caterina, the fiery virago, exemplifies the strong spirit of not just Italian women from the past, but all Italians, her loyalty to the Medici a model for contemporary faith in the Fascist state.

The theme of political intrigue appears in another popular version of Caterina's life from the first years of the twenty-first century. She is one of the main characters in two series of novels that have come to be collectively known as *Trinity Blood* by the young Japanese novelist Sunao Yoshida.[88] The books explore the on-going struggles between two major forces: an empire of vampires and the Vatican, which tries to control them. These books proved so popular that they were quickly adapted into graphic novels as well as an *anime* series. Caterina appears in them as the Duchess of Milan, a cardinal of the church, and the head of the Ministry of Holy Affairs, an office that monitors vampire activities. She is thus a political leader and an

authority within the Vatican hierarchy. By playing with church history and creating female cardinals, Yoshida captured a sense of Caterina's challenge of gender norms during her life. But he still retained some notions of her femininity as he toyed with her history. Instead of being attacked by anti-Riario partisans in Rome and Forlì, Caterina is attacked by vampires, and instead of saving herself, a male character comes to her aid. Throughout the *anime* series, she wears a bright red cardinal's robe and hat, and she has long blonde hair, references to her high status and concern with dress and appearances that have historical precedent. Caterina's legend will only continue to expand with the influence of *Trinity Blood,* a series that captures the interest of a young, popular, and international audience.

Caterina Sforza's Role in Feminist and Gender Studies

Just as painters and writers recreated Caterina for their various purposes in the modern era, so too have Anglo-American scholars in the Postmodern age. Anglo-American interest in Caterina is very recent in contrast to the historical attention her legend has enjoyed in Italy. Even though an abbreviated version of Pasolini's biography was translated into English in 1898, it was only in the 1960s that English-language scholars responded with any serious interest.[89] The British historian of Italian princely courts Cecil Clough presented a paper at the 1965 conference to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Caterina's birth in which he urged scholars to explore the rich archival resources that survived from Caterina's court to learn more about the cultural context of her regency.[90] At the time of the conference, Ernst Breisach, a German historian who had emmigrated to the United States, was already working on a biography of Caterina. which he published in 1967.[91] Breisach reiterated many of the same themes that dominated Caterina's Italian biographies, such as her political cunning and exceptionality.

Breisach's biography, like that of Pasolini, provides valuable information regarding the political and military circumstances of Caterina's life, and he too spent considerable time in the archives and found valuable new sources. His title, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago*, however, is indicative of the book's tenor, which repeatedly plays with the balance between Caterina's masculine and feminine

traits. Breisach was exuberant in his praise of Caterina, but he adopted a bit of the Victorianesque censure of strong women that was prevalent in the years preceding second-wave feminism. Whenever Caterina's actions extended too far into the masculine realm, he seems to have felt the need to temper her character with a discussion of more appropriate feminine qualities. For instance, when she took over the Castel Sant'Angelo after Sixtus IV's death in 1484, Breisach wrote, "while she acted like a drill sergeant she still looked thoroughly feminine .... Only her belt with the curved sword and bag of gold ducats dangling from it was masculine, and perhaps her indomitable fighting spirit."[92] Fifteenth-century ambassadors did indeed comment on the appearance of women (and men for that matter) as a form of assessment of power, but Breisach's words strike an odd note. He does well to recreate a vivid scene and highlight her "fighting spirit." but in doing so he underscores rigid notions of gender and negative stereotypes of women in power just as prevalent in the middle of the twentieth century as in the fifteenth. Breisach's dramatization of other events, while based on archival documents, on occasion exaggerates the situation. Regarding her capture by Cesare Borgia, he wrote:

> There she suffered the final consequences of defeat. She had lost her state, her fortress, her men, and her possessions. In those hours of the night her body also was violated. Cesare, the fancier of ladies, rejoiced that military and political victory had also delivered a beautiful thirty-seven-year-old woman into his hands. In abusing and degrading Caterina, Cesare triumphed fully. Cynically he shouted to his officers in the morning that Caterina had defended her fortress better than her virtue.[93]

Breisach paraphrased this last sentence from Pasolini's biography, but changed it from an author's speculation over a character's thought process to an actual public boast.[94] Both biographers extrapolated the events from innuendoes in historical documents, such as a short passage in Bernardi's chronicle, translated by Breisach as: "injustices committed to our unfortunate Madonna, Caterina Sforza, who had such a beautiful body," a phrase that barely suggests the scenario he described.[95] Despite these issues. Breisach's biography still stands as a very good English-language source for Caterina's life, one to which this present study is indebted. His book introduced Caterina to a new generation in North America and his characterization of her paved the way for her role in feminist debates, both scholarly and popular.

When Joan Kelly famously asked the question, "Did women really have a Renaissance?" in 1976, she cast Caterina as the exception to

prove the rule that women had little power and status in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[96] Written at the height of the 1970s feminist movement, the article argues that women had no "Renaissance" during the period, and thereby calls into question the established terms of periodization for European history. According to Kelly, the noble woman in the Renaissance "would not be a prince, she would marry one" and adorn his court.[97] Women's patronage was not for themselves, but for their husbands' glory. Caterina is Kelly's exception to her sex because she in essence became a prince, although she did first have to marry one. Removed from the possibility of adorning her husband's court because he was dead, she instead took it over and served as both male and female head of its political and cultural functions. Kelly asserted that Caterina broke the mold and commented that it was her will to rule—her spirit, combined with military power—that preserved her, not any legal structure. In this manner, Kelly continues aspects of Caterina's own self-fashioning—she is exceptional and invincible—while at the same time she glosses over the specifics of Caterina's situation, particularly her need to represent herself as loyal widow to remain legally in power. Her general view of Caterina's life is perhaps due to the fact she consulted sources that only summarized her biography and not historical documents or the more in-depth Italian biographies. Caterina's characterization by Kelly reflects feminist trends of the 1970s to present women as victims of the patriarchical system.

If Kelly argued for Caterina's political exceptionality in her quest to rehabilitate women into the historical record and debate their status, more popular writers since the 1970s emphasized her singular sexuality. A flamboyant lack of historical accuracy runs though a book on Caterina published in 1975 by Bridget Boland, who noted that her fanciful work is a novel and not a traditional biography.[98] Boland envisioned Cateria as a fully modern woman, in tune with her feelings and focused on romantic endeavors. She organized the novel into three parts, each defined by her subject's relationships ("Girolamo," "Giacomo," and "Giovanni/ Cesare"). Boland cast Caterina as a victim in her marriage to Girolamo Riario. He mocks her opinions and every sexual encounter she has with him is a rape. In the spirit of Sem Benelli's play, Boland's Caterina expresses her independence from her husband by supporting the Medici from an early age.[99] After Girolamo's demise, Caterina empowers herself politically and sexually and achieves happiness with Giacomo Feo and Giovanni de' Medici, only to be victimized once more by Cesare Borgia, who rapes her after

her capture. Despite these hardships, her strong spirit and humanity shine throughout the novel. Interestingly, Boland imagined several vignettes in which Caterina poses for paintings and discusses art and architecture, scenes included to demonstrate her fame and education. Boland seems to have employed Caterina's romantic life as a means to make her more accessible to sexually liberated women in search of historical role models. Even so. the exaggeration of Caterina's sex life contributes to the on-going trope of her exceptionality. The popular historian Antonia Fraser titillated mass audiences with a brief, but sensationalized portrayal of Caterina in the best-selling *The Warrior Queens.*[100] But even authors who write for more elite readers play up Caterina's sexuality. In an essay first published in 2000 in *The New York Review of Books,* the art historian Ingrid Rowland referred to Caterina as a "real-life dominatrix," prone to sexual "perversity."[101] Both Fraser and Rowland heralded Caterina's political audacity, but each also chose to temper her power with a discussion of Cesare Borgia's rape without noting its dubious sources. The themes of exceptionality and victimhood, whether in stories of Caterina's own travails or. as Kelly argued, in Renaissance women's lives in general, seem closely linked.

In contrast, the scholarship of gender studies and third wave feminism has sought evidence to serve the alternate agenda of celebrating advances of women's agency in more nuanced and comprehensive ways. The responses to Kelly's initial line of inquiry have revealed that the circumstances that enabled Caterina to gain power and fame were not exclusive to her. In fact numerous women such as Isabella d'Este, Beatrice d'Este, Lucrezia Borgia, Felice della Rovere and a host of lesserknow us served as regents.[102] Just like their husbands, Caterina and other noble women were active and important participants in the cultural and political practices that were essential to the power negotiations of Early Modern princely courts. In many cases, most notably in the example of Isabella d'Este, female patronage served women's own aggrandizement as much as it did their husbands'.[103] While all of these women are exceptional in social and economic terms when compared with the majority of fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuty Europeans, when viewed within their social milieu, their behavior is not. The triumvirate of infamous Italian Renaissance women. Caterina Sforza, Isabella d'Este, and Lucrezia Borgia, stand out largely because their legends emphasize their exclusiveness. Granted, Isabella's collections and the abundance of documents pertaining to them are an exceptional treasure trove for art historians,

but growing evidence shows that other women collected and commissioned works of art and architecture as well. On the same note, the sexual peculiarities in Caterina's and Lucrezia's lives have been fodder for sensationalism and prescriptive models. The search for the historical has led scholars to uncover the layers of legend-making that have obscured women's lives for centuries. With the rise of gender studies, the argument for women's agency has become one of degree, not of existence. Caterina Sforza clearly demonstrated her agency throughout her life, and while she celebrated her own fame, she tempered the masculine aspects of her rule with careful adherence to the feminine. Because she drew upon a wide range of ideals for her own self-fashioning, virtues like magnificence, splendor, piety, and intelligence, Caterina became a useful icon for a variety of followers. The archaeology of Caterina's legend reveals that these subsequent fashioners selected fragments of her story—fame, exceptionality, transgression—to produce an identity that has suited their own purposes within the shifting agendas of history.

Notes

1 D. Weinstein, "Review of E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago," American Historical Review* 74/2 (1968): 655.

2 The will was witnessed by her doctors and spiritual advisors as well as the appropriate legal magistrates: ASF, MAP, Filza 99, n. 38, cc. 112–42; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1355, pp. 537–47.

3 See for instance, C. Valone, "Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 108–31.

4 Giovanni Livio had died some time in the mid-1490s. E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza* (Chicago, 1967), p. 179.

5 They also received money to pay back 6,000 ducats that they owed their cousin, the Cardinal of San Giorgio Raffaele Riario. Breisach, pp. 253–54; for a brief history of Caterina's children and their descendents, see A. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario* (3 vols., Bologna, 1795), vol. 3, pp. 849–54.

6 For information on the marriage negotiations, see, Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome, 1893), vol. 3, docs 577, 672, 752, 772, pp. 227, 251, 283, 289.

7 ASF, MAP, Filza 78, n. 126, letter dated 27 May 1500; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1131, p. 448,

8 Letter dated 27 January 1504 from Niccoló Lomellini to Caterina, ASF, MAP, f. 125, c. 24; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza, vol.* 3, doc. 1234, p. 496.

9 Upon his death, Galeazzo was buried in the same tomb as his father Girolamo in the Riario chapel in the Cathedral of Imola, and his son Giulio updated the joint tomb in 1557 with classicizing architecture, two full-length figures of Justice, and reliefs displaying armor and the coats of arms of the Riairo, the Riario-Sforza, and the Riario-della Rovere families. See Chapter 4, note 44.

10 Sforza's dowry was only returned to her on 22 April 1499, paid by her sons: ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, Busta 1; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 1022, p. 378.

11 The record of the sale is published in F. Scoppola (ed.), *Palazzo Altemps; Indagini per il restauro delta fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome, 1987) p. 266; see also Chapter 2, p. 120, note 37). Although Girolamo Riario had given the palace *inter vivos* to his son Ottaviano on 23 May 1483, by the 1500s, it seems that all four of the surviving Riario sons owned the palace. Ottaviano gave his portion of the palace to his brother Galeazzo on 30 November 1506. This was after both Ottaviano's investiture in the church and Galeazzo's marriage. See, for the first document, ASR, Collegio dei Notai capitolini, Notaio Beninbene, vol. 175; for the second document, ASN, Archivio Riario Sforza, busta 1, Instrumenti; both transcribed in Scoppola, *Palazzo Altemps,* p. 266.

12 See ASF, MAP, Filza 104, n. 18, cc. 223–33.

13 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 568, 569, 571, 919, 1054, pp. 226, 336, 393.

14 Bianca wrote to Ottaviano on 7 August 1503, and said that she completed her wedding journey to San Secondo on 28 July 1503; ASF, MAP, Filza 77, c. 118.

15 Bianca noted Pier Maria's presence in Florence in two letters to Caterina dated 9 July 1507 and 17 January 1508 in ASF MAP, Filza 125. cc. 162 and 212.

16 Burriel. vol. 3, p. 847.

17 A. Bernardi, *Cronache Forlivesi,* ed. G. Mazzantinti (2 vols., Bologna, 1895), vol. 2, p. 252; see also Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, docs 1174–76, pp. 466–69.

18 Burriel, vol. 3, p. 855; and G. de' Rossi, *Vita di Giovanni de 'Medici,* ed. V. Bramanti (Rome, 1996), p. 98.

19 The order of clothing for members of Caterina' household (ASF, MAP Filza 104, n. 36, cc. 386–87) contains a note on c. 386v to remind Giacomo Feo's mother to order clothes for her grandson, Bernardino (Ms name soon changed to Carlo). This inventory dates to about 1494, and it suggests that even before Giacomo's death, his mother was in charge of

rearing his son. The posthumous inventories of Giacomo's goods tell of how his family, as was typical, sought to obtain each and every item that he had in his rooms within the Riario court after his death; these were goods that his son inherited. ASF, MAP, Filza 84, n. 63, cc. 124–27 (7 November 1495); Filza 104, no. 34, cc. 378–83 (7 July 1496, noted as consigned to the mother of Giacomo); n. 35, c. 384r (18 December 1496).

20 Burriel, vol. 3, pp. 854–55.

21 ASF, MAP, Filza 137, n. 1051, c. 1024 terzo.

22 Caterina acknowledged her debt of 2,562 florins to Jacopo Salviati on 23 November 1504, ASF, MAP, Filza 125, n. 264, c. 263.

23 For instance, she still owed Lodovico Albertini, her Forlivese spice and herb dealer, 587 florins. Letter dated 8 September 1509, transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 3, doc. 1364, p. 551.

24 G.F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini* (2 vols., London, 1930), vol. 1, p. 306, cat. nos. 1188–89; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici, 15th-18th Centuries* (3 vols., Florence, 1981—87), vol. 1, pp. 358–59; E. Luciano, "Medals of Women from the Italian Renaissance Courts: From Cecilia Gonzaga to Isabella of Aragon" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1997), pp. 237–40. Hill has dated these medals to the early sixteenth century; Luciano alternately argues that they are from the 1490s based on the style of her dress and the use of "Diva" in the motto.

25 There are similar images of Constancy on the medals of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria and Costanza Bentivoglio Pico della Mirandola, whose husband Antonio was in the service of Sixtus IV. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* vol. 1, pp. 194–95, 261–62, cat. nos. 751, 752, 997.

26 For an alternate hypothesis about the medals' commission, see Luciano, "Medals of Women," pp. 237–38.

27 Burriel, vol. 3, pp. 852–55.

28 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 342—43. Caterina's bones were exhumed and eventually lost when the convent was transformed into a prison in 1835. The Murate complex is currently being developed as offices, condominiums, and a cultural center.

29 His account of her rise to power is elaborated in both *The Histories* and *The Discourses.* In *the Prince,* Machiavelli concentrates on Caterina's use of fortresses for protection. All three texts can be found in N. Machiavelli, *The Chief Works and Others,* trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham, 1965).

30 N. Machiavelli, "Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius," Book 3, Chapter 6, in Machiavelli, *The Chief Works,* vol. 1, p. 444; for the original, see N. Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere,* ed. M. Martelli (Milan, 1993), p. 208.

31 J.L. Hairston, "Skirting the Issue: Machiavelli's Caterina Sforza," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53/3 (2000): 687–712; see also F. Bausi, "Machiavelli e

Caterina Sforza," *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXLIX(1991): 887–92.

32 J. Foresti, *De Claris selectibiis mulieribus novissime congestum* (Ferrara, 1497), p. CLX-CLXV, "virago" on p. CLXV; transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 3, doc. 723, pp. 272–76; esp. p. 276. See also G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women,* ed. V. Brown (Cambridge, 2001); J. Schiesari, "In Praise of Virtuous Women? For a Genealogy of Gender Morals in Renaissance Italy," *Annali d'italianistica* 7 (1989): 66–87; P.J. Benson. *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman* (University Park, 1992); and C. Jordan, "Boccaccio's In-Famous Women: Gender and Civic Virtue in the *De mulieribus claris*," in C. Levin and J. Watson (eds), *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 25—47.

33 See Langedijk, vol. 1, esp. pp. 79–120; J. Cox-Rearick, *and Destiny in Medici Art* (Princeton, 1984), esp. pp. 240–42; N.R. Tomas, *The Medici Women* (Aldershot, 2003); and G. Langdon, *Medici Women: Portraits ofPmver, Love, and Betrayal from the Court of Duke Cosimo I* (Toronto, 2006).

34 For posthumous commemorations of Eleonora of Toledo, see J. Cox-Rearick, *"La Ill.ma Sig.ra Dachessa felice memorial:* The Posthumous Eleonora di Toledo," in K. Eisenbichler (ed.) *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence and Siena* (Aldershot, 2004). pp. 225–66.

35 Langedijk, vol. 2, pp. 1040–41; A. Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio Firenze* (Rome, 1995).

36 Vasari's letter regarding the portraits is transcribed in K. Frey (ed.), *Der Literarische nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (3 vols., Munich, 1923–30), vol. 1, letter CCXLV, p. 426; see also Cecchi, p. 152; F. Vossilla, "Giovanni, un eroe dinastico e la sua immagine," in M. Scalini (ed.), *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (Milan, 2001), pp. 251–53.

37 "Una testa di Maddonna dTmola madre del S.or Giovanni." The 1553 Inventory is published in C. Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I* (Florence, 1893), quote from p. 141. See also Langedijk, vol. 1, p. 357. The later inventory reads "una testa col busto," ASF, Inventario generale della Guardaroba di S. E. dal 1553 al 1568, n. 30. The inventory was published by E. Müntz, "Les collections d'antiques formees par les medicis au XVI.e siecle," *Des memories de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 35/2 (1893): 84–168, quote on p. 139. For the argument that it is a death mask, see A. Gottschewski, "Eine Büste der Caterina Sforza," *Rivista d'Arte* V/l-2 (1907): 12–21; and A. Gottschewski, *Über die Porträts der Caterina Sforza* (Strasbourg, 1908).

38 "un quadro piccolo con ritratto della Signora d'Imola, di man' di Cotignione, con ornamento semplice," ASF, Archivio Guardaroba Medicea, c.1560, Filza 45, cc. 59–61, quote on fol. 59v; and "Un' ritratto della Signora d'Imola in un quadro piccolo con ornamento di noce; di man" di Cotignione," ASF, Archivio Guardaroba Medicea, c.1567, Filza 65, cc. 160–74, quote on c. 160r. The inventories are published by J.H. Beck, "The Medici Inventory of 1560," *Antichità viva* XIII/3 (1974): 64–66; and XIII/5 (1974): 61–63. Both of the Zaganelli brothers worked in Imola in

the 1490s, and either could have painted the portrait. It does not appear in the inventory of goods made at Sforza's death, and so it may have been a gift she gave to the Medici court before her death. For the careers of the brothers, see R. Zama, *Gli Zaganelli* (Rimini. 1994), which neither cites the Medici inventory nor discusses the brothers" possible work for Caterina.

39 "Ritratto no una di madonna Imola n.o 1." ASF, Guadaroba Medicea, Filza 87, c. 168v (inventoiy dated 19 June 1574). Thanks to Brace Edelstein for bringing this reference to my attention.

40 See D. Carl, "Das Inventar der Werkstatt von Filippino Lippi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXXI/2–3 (1987), p. 374.

41 This portrait of Giovanni may have been later misattributed in a Medici inventory to Piero di Cosimo Rosselli; see P. Zambrano and J.K. Nelson, *Filippino Lippi* (Milan, 2004), p. 557, note 28.

42 For the history of the Rossi of San Secondo, see M.C. Basteri, G. Cirillo, P. Rota, and G. Godi, *La Rocca dei Rossi a San Secondo: un cantiere della grande decorazione Bolognese del Cinquecento* (Parma, 1995), pp. 15–29; see also Rossi, *Giovanni de' Medici,* pp. 45, 57–58.

43 Rossi, *Giovanni de'Medici*, p. 94.

44 Ibid., pp. 11—30, esp. 17, for V. Bramanti's summary of Giovangirolamo's life and an assessment of his biography of Giovanni de' Medici. Giovangirolamo was a member of Cosimo Is court from 1555 until his death in 1564.

45 Ibid., pp. 17–18, 36.

46 Langedijk, vol. 1, pp. 137–38.

47 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 357.

48 G, Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects,* trans. G. du C. de Vere (2 vols., London, 1996), vol. 1, p. 569.

49 ASF, Magistrate dei Pupilli avant il Principato, Filza 114, cc. 21–22, 158–61, 188; Filza 115, cc. 6–8, 150–54,189–90; Filza 118, c. 91; Filza 119, cc. 10, 133, 211; Filza 120, c. 80.

50 For Maria Salviati's biography and portraits, see Langedijk, vol. 2, pp. 1262–67; C. McCorquodale, *Bronzino* (New York, 1981), p. 66, and fig. 43; A. Levy, "Framing Widows: Mourning, Gender and Portraiture in Early Modern Florence," in A. Levy (ed.), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 211–31, esp. pp. 226–27; and Langdon, pp. 23–58.

51 T. Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso,* ed. L. Firpo (Bari, 1948), pp. 120–21. For a brief discussion of Boccalini in relation to Caterina, see Hairston, pp. 692–94.

52 For Segni's *imprese* and emblems, see Langedijk, vol. 3, pp. 1558–72.

53 I would like to thank Timothy S. Jones for help with the translation of the motto.

54 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals,* vol. 1, p. 284, cat. no. 1110(5); Langedijk, vol. 1. p. 360; vol. 3, p. 1528.

55 F. Allegrini, *Chronologica series simulacrorum regiae familiae Mediceae centum expressa toreumis* (Florence, 1761), plate 18; Langedijk, vol. 1, p. 357.

56 F. Oliva, *Vita di Caterina Sforza, Signora di Forlì* (Forlì, 1821).

57 For an overview of nationalism, see C. Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis, 1997). For the nostalgia generated during the period, see E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). See also the essays by S. Parmegiani, "In Search of a Nation: Renaissance Motifs in Ugo Foscolo's Pre-romantic Historical and Literary Criticism," and D.M, Lasansky, "Reshaping Attitudes Towards the Renaissance. The Fight Against 'Modem Mania' in Florence at the Turn of the Century," in Y. Portebois and N. Terpstra (eds), *The Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto, 2003), pp. 143–57; 263–96; and the essays in C. Lazzaro and R.J. Crum (eds), *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Ithaca, 2005).

58 A. Burriel, *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario* (3 vols., Bologna, 1795).

59 Regarding Caterina's fame in relation to the city, see, for instance, the brief guidebook, O. Montenovesi, *Imola, la città di Caterina Sforza* (Milan, 1927).

60 See I. Taddei, "II fantasma del Principe. La figura di Giovanni delle Bande Nere tra Illuminismo e Fascismo," in M. Scalini (ed.), *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (Milan, 2001), pp. 273–309.

61 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*; P.D. Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza* (condensed ed., Florence, 1913); P.D. Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza,* trans. P. Sylvester (London and New York, 1898); PD. Pasolini, *Une héroine de la Renaissance italienne: Catherine Sforza,* trans. M. Léra (Paris, 1912).

62 P.D. Pasolini, "Cateriiia Sforza: nuovi documenti," *Atti e Memorie: Deputazione di storia patria per la Romagna* 15 (1897): 72–209

63 Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza,* pp. xi-xii.

64 A. Braschi, *Caterina Sforza* (Rocca San Casciano, 1965); M, Tabanelli, *II Biscione e la Rosa: Caterina Sforza*, *Girolamo Riario e i loro primi discendenti* (Faenza, 1973); N. Graziani and G. Venturelli, *Caterina Sforza* (Milan, 1987); and C. Brogi, *Caterina Sforza* (Arezzo, 1996). Caterina is also featured in books of short biographies of famous women, for instance, G. Marchetti Ferrante, *Donne belle d'ltalia* (Milan, 1929).

65 V. Novielli (ed.), *Caterina Sforza, una donna del Cinquecento* (Imola, 2000).

66 E. Corradini and E. Luciano, "Ritratti femminili sulle medaglie," in ibid., pp. 153–58.

67 "Lo vorrei, per il primo mi mandassi in su uno foglio retracta la testa di Madona, che costi se ne fa pure assai: et se la mandate, fatene uno nuotolo ad ciò le pieghe non la guastino." Letter dated 19 July 1499, transcribed in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, p. 110. The letter is also transcribed, with an alternate translation, in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, trans, and ed. J.B. Atkinson and D. Sices (DeKalb, 1996), pp. 18–19.

68 E. Welch, "Painting as Performance in the Italian Renaissance Court," in S.J. Campbell (ed.), *Artists at Court* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 28–32.

69 "... vecchia infatuazione di vedere in ogni quadro che datasse da tre o quattro secoli le immagini della famiglia Riario-Sforza." C. Grigioni, *Marco Palmezzano* (Faenza, 1956), p. 606. Corrado Ricci also discusses this tradition in "Il ritratto di Caterina Sforza," *Forum Livii* III/4 (1928): 5–12.

70 Grigioni, pp. 589–99, 603–9. See also Burriel, vol. 3, pp. 856–7; F. Zaghini, "Committenzae spiritualità forlivese," in A. Paolucci, L. Prati, and S. Tumidei (eds.), *Marco Pamezzano, II Rinascimento nelle Romanga* (Milan, 2006), p. 168.

71 Gottschewski, "Eine Büste" and "Über die Porträts." Langedijk classifies it as Ginevra Calvalcanti, vol. 2, pp. 982–3.

72 The painting was first inventoried in the Uffizi collection in 1881. For a synopsis of the literature of this painting, *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale* (2nd ed., Florence, 1980), p. 399. P1132.

73 "se non è la Sforza, viene a mancare l'unico tenuissimo filo che poteva legare il ritratto al nome del Palmezzano." Grigioni, pp. 707–8.

74 Langedijk, vol. 1, p. 356.

75 ASF, Archivio Guardaroba Medicea, 1560, Filza 45; published by J.H. Beck, "The Medici Inventory of 1560," *Antichità viva* XIII/3 (1974): 64–66.

76 S. Padovani, "Per Piero di Cosimo: un ritratto della Galleria Palatina restaurato," *Arte cristiana* 87 (1999): 267–75.

77 See Chapter 1, p. 68, note 60 for the idealization of women's portraits in the Renaissance.

78 "non ha certo adulato la donna celebrata." N. Tarchiani, *La R. Galleria Pitti in Firenze,* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1939), pp. 11–12.

79 He also listed several images that he identified as depictions of Girolamo Riario, including one by Giovanni Bellini in Vienna, and another in the Capitoline Museum, both of which are now thought to be of Venetian senators. See A. Schiavo, "I ritratti di Girolamo e Caterina Riario nella Pinacoteca Capitolina," *Studi Romani* 17 (1969): 315–18.

80 G. Viroli, *La Pinacoteca Civica di Forlì* (Forlì, 1980), p. 46.

81 Novielli, *Caterina Sforza;* Graziani and Venturelli, *Caterina Sforza.*

82 Breisach, p. 258; Langedijk, vol. 1, p. 361; J. Penndorf, *Frühe italienische Malerei im Lindenau-Museum Altenburg* (Leipzig, 1998).

83 For instance, see Burriel, vol. 3, 856–57; Grigioni, pp. 41–42; Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 1, plate after p. 194; A. Pergoli, "La Chiesa di S. Biagio in S. Girolamo a Forlì," *Forum Livii* I/4 (1926), p. 14.

84 For the Vienna portrait, see Langedijk, vol. 1, p. 356.

85 A. Tambini, " Schede per i dipinti della Biblioteca comunale di Faenza," *Manfrediana* 24 (1990): 19–21.

86 Bernardi, vol. 1, part 2, p. 285.

87 S. Benelli, *Caterina Sforza: rapresentazione storica in tre parti e otto quadri* (Milan, 1934). For a brief biography, see F. Marotti, "Benelli, Sem," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (c. 110 vols., Rome, 1960ff.), vol. 8, pp. 472–76.

88 S. Yoshida, *Rage Against the Moons* (6 vols., Tokyo, 2001–2005; English translation, Los Angeles, 2007); S. Yoshida, *Reborn on the Mars* (6 vols., Tokyo, 2001–2003; English translation, Los Angeles, 2007). The *Trinity Blood* anime series is available from Funimation Productions, 2007. See also the Trinity Blood website: http://www.funimation.com/trinityblood/

89 Caterina's brief biography was included in collections of famous women, such as C. Hare, *The Most Illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1904), pp. 229–56.

90 C. Clough, "The sources for the biography for Caterina Sforza," *Atti e memorie; Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna.* N.S. 5, 15–16 (Bologna, 1967): 57–144.

91 E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago* (Chicago, 1967).

92 Ibid., p. 71. Breisach's source for this description is a passage attributed to a "Cerretini" in Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, vol. 2, p. 150, which Pasolini cited as from D. Mouni, *Collezione d'autografi di famiglie sovrane* (Milan, 1858–59). It is questionable whether Cerretini was an eyewitness, or if he was reporting an exaggerated description.

93 Ibid., p. 233.

94 Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 225–26.

95 Breisach, p. 341, note 155. I have not beenable to find the original in Bernardi, which Breisach cites as in vol. 2, p. 356. Pasolini quotes the same phrase as "de le ingiustitie nel corpe de la nostra poverina e sfortunata dita Madonna, zoè Caterina Sforcia, che era molto formosa del so corpe," but does not give a full citation; *Caterina Sforza,* vol. 2, pp. 226–27.

96 J. Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in R. Bridenthal, C. Koonz, and S. Stuard (eds), *Becoming Visible; Women in European History* (Second edition, Boston, 1987), pp. 175–201.

97 Ibid., p. 187.

98 B. Boland, *Caterina, a novel* (New York, 1975).

99 Ann Stanford also seems to have followed Sem Benelli's romantic model in her poem, "The Countess of Forlì," which is really more a theatrical play, divided into speaking parts. Like Benelli's play, Stanford's drama features only selected moments in Caterings life, in this case, Giacomo Feo's assassination, Cesare Borgia's siege, and Caterina's imprisomnent and release. Girolamo Riario and Giovanni de' Medici do not merit roles. A. Stanford, *The Countess of Forlì* (Canoga Park, CA, 1985).

100 A. Fraser, *The Warrior Queens* (New York, 1990), esp. pp. 196–201.

101 I.D. Rowland, *From Heaven to Arcadia* (New York, 2005), pp. 254–55. The essay is a review of B. Talvacchia, *Taking Positions* (Princeton, 1999); for the episode that features Caterina, see pp. 114–15.

102 See. for instance, S.L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), esp. pp. 155–80.

103 See the studies in S.E. Reiss and D.G. Wilkins (eds), *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, 2001); J.C. Brown and R.C. Davis (eds). *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1998); C. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300–1550* (Manchester, 1998); C. Lawrence (ed.), *Women and Art in Early Modem Europe* (University Park, 1997).

Bibliography

Archives Consulted

Archivio Segreto Vaticano
Archivio di Stato, Florence
Fondo Mediceo avanti il Principato
Fondo Magistrate dei Pupilli avant il Principato
Archivio di Stato, Forlí
Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga
Archivio di Stato, Milan
Archivio Sforzesco, Potenze Estere and Registri Ducale
Archivio di Stato, Modena, Archivio Estense
Archivio di Stato, Naples, Archivio Riario Sforza
Archivio di Stato, Rome
Archivio di Stato, Venice

Manuscript Sources

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
Ms. II, II 509, G. Niccolini, Chronicle of the Murate convent in Florence, 1597.
Ms. II 368, Anonymous, "Relazione della solenne entrata in Forlìdi Girolamo Riario e di Caterina Sforza," 1481.
Vienna, Österreichisch Nationalbibliotek
Cod. 145, Horace, Odes, *c.* 1450.

Published Primary Sources

Alberti, L.B., *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. R.N. Watkins (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969).
—, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* ed. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).
Sabadino degli Arienti, G., *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este:*

The 'De Triumphis religionis' of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, ed. Werner Gundersheimer (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972).
Averlino, A. (Filarete), *Trattato di Architettura,* ed. A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1972).
Barbara, F., "On Wifely Duties," in B. Kohl and R.G. Witt (eds), *The Earthly Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), pp. 179–228.
Benelli, S., *Caterina Sforza: rapresentazione storica in tre parti e otto quadri* (Milan: Mondadori, 1934).
Bernardi, A., *Cronache Forlivesi,* ed. G. Mazzantinti (2 vols., Bologna: R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1895–97).
Boccaccio, G., *Famous Women,* ed. V. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
Boccalini, T., *Ragguagli di Parnaso,* ed. L. Firpo (Bari: G. Laterza, 1948).
Boland. B., *Caterina, a novel* (New York: St. Martin's, 1975).
Castiglione, B., *The Book of the Courtier,* trans G. Bull (New York: Penguin, 1967).
Cobelli, L., *Cronache Forlivesi dalla fondazione dell a citta sino all'anno 1498*, eds. G. Carducci and E. Frati (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1974).
Dominici, G., *La Nobilita delle donne* (Venice: Gabriel Gioloti, 1549).
Ferretti, N., *De elegantia linguae latinae* (Forlì: Paolo Guarini, 1495).
Foresti, J., *De Claris sceletisque mulieribus* (Ferrara: Albertus de Placentia e Augustinus de Casali Maion, 1497).
Gherardi, J., *Il Diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra dal VII settembre MCCCCLXXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV,* ed. E. Carusi, *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani* 23/3 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1904).
Landucci, L., *Diario Fiorentino* (Florence: Sansoni, 1883).
Machiavelli, N., *The Chief Works and Others*, trans. A. Gilbert (3 vols., Durham: Duke University Press, 1989).
Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence, trans. and ed. J.B. Atkinson and D. Sices (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University, 1996).
Pacioli, L., *Divina Proportione,* in A. Bruschi (ed.), *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura* (Milan, 1978).
Pontano, G., *I trattati delle virtù sociali,* ed. and trans. F. Tateo (Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1965).
Rossi, G. de'. *Vita di Giovanni de'Medici,* ed. V. Bramanti (Rome: Salerno, 1996).
Savonarola, G., *A Guide to Righteous Living and Other Works,* ed. and

trans. K. Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003).
—, *Le lettere,* ed. R. Ridolphi (Florence, 1933).
—, *Libro della vita viduale* (1491), in M. Ferrara (ed.), *Operette Spirituale*, *Opere di Girolamo Savonarola* (2 vols., Rome: A. Belardetti, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 9–62.
Stanford, A., *The Countess of Forlì* (Canoga Park, CA: Orirana Press, 1985).
Vasari, G., *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects,* trans. G. du C. de Vere (2 vols., London: David Campbell, 1996).
Vascho, A. de, *Diario del la città di Roma dall'anno 1480 all'anno 1492 di Antonio de Vascho,* ed. G. Chiesa, *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani* 23/3 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1904).
Vecchiazzani, M., *Historia di Forlimpopoli* (Rimini: Il Simbeni, 1647).
Voragine, J. de, *The Golden Legend,* trans. W. Granger Ryan (2 vols., Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 1993).
Yoshida, S., *Rage Against the Moons* (6 vols., Tokyo: Tokyopop, 2001–2005; English trans.: Los Angeles: Tokyopop, 2007).
—, *Reborn on the Mars* (6 vols., Tokyo: Tokyopop, 2001–2003; English trans.: Los Angeles: Tokyopop, 2007).

Secondary Sources

Adani, *G., Arte e Santuari in Emilia Romagna* (Milan: Silvana, 1987).
Ajmar-Wollheim, M., and F. Denis (eds), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2006).
—, F. Denis, and A. Matchette (eds), *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).
Aldini, T., *La rocca di Forlimpopoli* (Villa Verucchio: Tipolito La Pieve, 1990).
Ames-Lewis, F., *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici* (New York and London: Garland, 1984).
Anderson, J., "Rewriting the History of Art Patronage." *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996): 129–38.
Appadurai, A., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
Arcelli, F., *Banking and Charity in XVI Century Italy: The Holy Monte de Pietà of Rome 1539–84* (Leicestershire: Upfront, 2003).

Auslander, L., "Beyond Words." *American Historical Review* 110/4 (2005): 1015–45.

Avellini, L., and L. Michelacci (eds), *La cultura umanistica a Forlì fra Biondo e Melozzo* (Bologna: Il Nove, 1997).

Baldini, N., "In the Shadow of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Role of Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici," in M. Gregori (ed.), *In the Light of Apollo* (2 vols., Milan: Silvana, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 277–82.

Banner, L.W., "Biography as History," *American Historical Review* 114/3 (2009): 579–86.

Baskins, C., *Cassone Painting: Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

—, (ed.), *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance* (Pittsburg: Periscope, 2008).

Basteri, M.C., G. Cirillo, P. Rota, and G. Godi, *La Rocca dei Rossi a San Secondo: un cantiere della grande decorazione Bolognese del Cinquecento* (Parma: Public Promo Service, 1995).

Bauman, L.P., "Power and Image: Della Rovere Patronage in Late Quattrocento Rome." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1990.

—, "Piety and Public Consumption: Doinenico. Girolamo, and Julius II della Rovere at Santa Maria del Popolo," in I.F. Verstegen (ed.), *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), pp. 39–62.

Bausi, F., "Machiavelli e Caterina Sforza," *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXLIX (1991): 887–92.

Bayer, A. (ed.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Beck, J.H., "The Medici Inventory of 1560." *Antichità Viva* XIII/3 (1974): 64–66; and XIII/5 (1974): 61–63.

Bedeschi, P., "Le vicende della tomba di Girolamo Riario nella Cattedrale di Imola." *Atti dell'Associazione per Imola Storica Artistica* IX (1977): 165–70.

Benson, P.J., *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

Benzi, F., *Sisto IV Renovator Urbis: Architettura a Roma 1471–1484* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1990).

Berminghain, A., *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

Berardi, D., and G.F. Fontana (eds), *Rocche e Castelli di Romagna* (3 vols., Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1970).

Bianchi, L., *La villa papale della Magliana* (Rome: Palombi, 1942).
Bourne, M.H., *Francesco II Gonzaga: The Soldier Prince as Patron* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2008).
—, "Out from the Shadow of Isabella: The Artistic Patronage of Francesco II Gonzaga, Fourth Marquis of Mantova." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997.
Breisach, E., *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).
Braschi, A., *Caterina Sforza* (Rocca San Casciano: Arte Grafiche, 1965).
Bresler, R.M.R., "Between Ancient and all' Antica: The Imitation of Roman Coins in the Renaissance." PhD. diss., Boston University, 2002.
Brewer, J., and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
Bridgeman, J., "'Condecendi et netti ...': beauty, dress and gender in Italian Renaissance art," in F. Ames-Lewis and M. Rogers (eds), *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 44–51.
Brogi, C., *Caterina Sforza* (Arezzo: Alberti & C. Editori, 1996).
Brown, A., "Pierfrancesco de' Medici, 1430–1476: A Radical Alternative to Elder Medicean Supremacy?" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 81–103.
Brown, C.M., *Isabella d'Este in the ducal palace in Mantua: an overview of her rooms in the Castello di San Giorgio and the Corte Vecchia* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005).
Brown, J.C., and R.C. Davis (eds), *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Longman, 1998).
Brugerolles, E., and F. de Polignac, "Artistes, mecènes et collectionneurs au Palais Altemps de Rome aux XVIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 121/1489 (1993): 59–76.
Burckhardt, J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Penguin, 1990).
Burke, P., *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
Buniel, A., *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario* (3 vols., Bologna: S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1795).
Buscaroli. R., *Melozzo e il Melozzisimo* (Bologna: Athena, 1955).
Calhoun, C., *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
Callmann, E., "The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as Seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings." *Studies in Iconography* 5

(1979): 73–92.
Campbell, S.J. (ed.), *Artists at Court* (Cambridge, MA: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004).
—, *The Cabinent of Eros* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2006).
Campbell, T.B., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002).
Caragnano, D., "Una inconsueta iconografia di San Giacomo in ambito rupestre: il miracolo dell'impiccato nella chiesa di San Giacomo a Laterza (TA)," in A. Caprara, F. Galli, and M. Scalzo (eds), *Alètes Miscellanea per i settant'anni di Roberto Caprara* (Massafra: Archeogruppo, 2000), pp. 115–30.
Carlson, C.L., and A.J. Weisl (eds), *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
Casanova, C., G. Tocci, A. Varni, and A. Vasina (eds), *Storia di Forlì* (4 vols.. Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989–92).
Carl, D., "Das Inventar der Werkstatt von Filippino Lippi aus dem Jahre 1504," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* XXXI/2–3 (1987): 373–91.
—, "La Casa Vecchia dei Medici e il suo giardino." in G. Cherubini and G. Fanelli (eds). *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze* (Florence: Giunti, 1990), pp. 38—43.
Ceccarelli, F., "La Rocca negli anni della signoria cli Girolamo Riario," in C. Pedrini (ed.). *La Rocca, 2; Architettura e storia dell'edificio* (Imola: Musei Civici di Imola, 2001), pp. 67–103.
Cecchi, A., *Palazzo Vecchio Firenze* (Rome: Istutito poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995).
Chabot, I., "'La sposa in nero': La ritualizzazione del lutto delle vedove fiorentine (secoli xiv-xv)," *Quaderni Storici* 29/86 (1994): 421–62.
Christiansen, K.. *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantegna* (New York: George Braziller, 1994).
Cian, V., "Memorie: Caterina Sforza," *Rivista storica italiana* 10 (1893): 577–610.
Clark. N.*, Melozzo da Forlì, pictor papalis* (London: Sotheby's, 1990).
Clough, C., "The sources for the biography for Caterina Sforza." *Attie memorie; Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna.* N.S. 5, 15–16 (Bologna, 1967): 57–144.
—, *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981).
Cole, A., *Virtue and Magnificence* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995).
Colheart, L., "The Virago and Machiavelli," in B. Garlick. S. Dixon, and

P. Allen (eds), *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views* (New York and Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 141–55.

Conti, C., *La prima reggia di Cosimo I* (Florence: Pellas, 1893).

"Convegno di studi per il V centenario della nascità di Caterina Sforza. (Imola, 29 giugno 1964 –Forlì, 25 ottobre 1964)." *Atti e memorie; Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna* new series 5, 15–16 (Bologna, 1967): 35–309.

Coonin, A. V., "New Documents concerning Desiderio da Settignano and Annalena Malatesta," *Burlington Magazine* 137/1113 (1995): 792–99.

Corio, B., *Storia di Milano* (3 vols., Milan: F. Colombo, 1855–57).

Cortini, G.F., *La Madonna del Piratello presso Imola* (Imola: P. Galeati, 1939).

Corvisieri, C., "Il trionfo romano di Eleonora d'Aragona nel giugno del 1472," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 1 (1878): 475–92; 10 (1887): 629–89.

Costa, L., *Il Castello di Riolo e gli ultimi pertinaci paladini di Caterina Sforza* (Faenza: Tipografia Faentina, 1987).

Cox-Rearick, J., *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

—, *"La Ill.ma Sig.ra Duchessa felice memoria*: The Posthumous Eleonora di Toledo." in K. Eisenbichler (ed.), *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence and Siena* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 225–66.

Croce, B., *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota, Le elegie per la patria perduta ed altri suoi carmi* (Bari: G. Laterza e figli, 1938).

Cropper, E., "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," in M.W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 175–90.

Cunnally, J., "Ancient Coins as Gifts and Tokens of Friendship during the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6/2 (1994): 129—43.

Curry. K., "'Four Weddings and a Funeral': Festival Forms and Dynastic Consolidation In Ducal Lorraine, 1563–1624," in K. Friedrich (ed.), *Festive Culture in Germany and Europe from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).

Crawford, K., "Catherine de' Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31/3 (2000): 643–73.

Dacos, N., *La Decouverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1969).

D'Amico, J.F., *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

Davis, M.D., "'Opus isodomum' at the Palazzo della Cancelleria: Vitruvian Studies and Archaeological and Antiquarian Interests at the Court of Raffaele Riario." in S.D. Squarzina (ed.), *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell' Antico nei secoli XV e XVI* (Milan: Electa, 1989), pp. 442–57.

Davis, N.Z.. *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

Dechert, M., "City and Fortress in the Works of Francesco di Giorgio: The Theory and Practice of Defensive Architecture and Town Planning." Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1984.

de Vries, J., "Casting Her Widowhood: Contemporary and Posthumous Portraits of Caterina Sforza." in A. Levy (ed.), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 77–92.

—, "Caterina Sforza's Portrait Medals: Power, Gender, and Representation in the Renaissance Court," *Woman's Art Journal,* 24/1 (2003): 23–28.

Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (*c.* 110 vols., Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960ff.).

Dressen, A., *Pavimento decorati del Quattrocento in Italia* (Venice: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architecttura Andrea Palladio, 2008).

Eley, G., *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Aibor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

Even, Y., "The Loggia dei Lanzi: a showcase of female subjugation," in N. Broude and M.D. Garrard (eds), *The Expanding Discourse* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), pp. 127–38.

Fantoni, M., L.C. Matthew, and S.F. Matthews-Grieco (eds), *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th centuries* (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003).

Farenga, P., "'Monumenta memoriae': Pietro Riario fra inito e storia," in M. Miglio, F. Niutta, D. Quaglioni, and C. Ranieri (eds), *Un Pontificato ed una città; Sisto IV (1471–1484)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1986), pp. 179–216.

Ferrari, D., "L'inventario delle gioie," *Isabella d'Este: I luoghi del collezionismo, civiltà mantovana* 14/15 (1995): 11–33.

— and R. Iotti, *Il codice Stivini: inventario dell a collezione di Isabella d'Este nello studiolo e nella grotta in Corte vecchia nel Palazzo ducale di Mantova* (Modern: Il Bulino, 1995).

Ferroni, G., "Sulla polilitica festiva di Pietro Riario," in P. Brezzi and M. de Panizza Lorch (eds), *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento*: *Atti del Convegno* (Rome: Istituto di Sludi *Romani,* 1984), pp. 47–65.

ffolliott, S., "Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow," in M.W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N.J. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 227–41

Flaten, A.R., "Niccolò Fiorentino and the Image of Humanism: Portrait Medals in late Quattrocento Florence." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2001

—, "Portrait Medals and Assembly-Line Art in late Quattrocento Florence," in M. Fantoni, L.C. Matthew, and S.F. Matthews-Grieco (eds), *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries* (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003), pp. 127–40.

Forlani, C., "I pavimenti ceramici riniscimentali commissionati da Isabella d'Este," *Atti XXI convegno Internazionale della Ceramica* (Albisola, 1988), pp. 223–32.

Foschi, M., and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; La sua città e il suo tempo* (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1994).

— and L. Prati, "Pietre, terrecotte, mattonelle: moduli e modelli," in M. Foschi and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; La sua città e il suo tempo* (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1994), pp. 221–36.

— and L. Prati, "*Disiecta Membra* la decorazione in cotto a Forlì nel Rinascimento." in C. Di Francesco (ed.), *Il Cotto tra Storia e Ricerca* (Florence: Edizioni all'insegna del giglio, 1995), pp. 19–30.

Frank, I., "Melozzo da Forli and the Rome of Sixtus IV, 1471–1484." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1991.

Fraser Jenkins, A.D., "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence." *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 162–70.

Fraser, A., *The Warrior Queens* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

Frey, K. (ed.), *Der Literarische nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (3 vols., Munich: Georg Mueller, 1923–30).

Frick, C.C., *Dressing Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Frommel, C.L., *Die römanische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (3 vols., Tübingen, 1973).

—, "Raffaele Riario, committente della Cancelleria," in A. Esch and C.L. Frommel (eds). *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), pp. 197–212.

Gaddoni, S., *I Frati Minori in Imola e i tre ordini francescani nella città e diocesi imolese* (Quaracchi: Tipografia del Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1911).

— and S. Gambetti, "Il palazzo Sersanti in Imola," *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patriaper le provincie di Romagna,* series IV, VII (1916–17): 1–61.

Galli, R., *La vera origine del Santuario del Piratello, 1489—1543* (Bologna: Mareggiani, 1943).

Gerardo, D.Y., "Lucrezia Borgia's Palace in Renaissance Ferrara." *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 64/4 (2005): 474–97.

—, "Lucrezia Borgia as Entrepreneur," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 53–91.

Ghinzoni, P., "Usi e costumi nuziali principeschi." *Archivio storico lombardo*, series II, V-XV (1888): 102–13.

Gilbert, C.E., "What Did the Renaissance Patron Buy?" *Renaissanace Quarterly* 51 (1998): 392–450.

Giulini, A., "Un probabile progetto matrimoniale per Caterina Sforza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, series IV, XIX (1913): 220–23.

Gnecchi, E., "Un Quattrino di Caterina Sforza, Signora de Forlì" *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XVIII (1905): 493–98.

Goldthwaite, R.A., "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 1–32.

—, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

— and J. Mandich, *Studi sulla moneta fiorentina* (Florence: Olschki, 1994).

Gori, M., "L'architettura e la scultura nei secoli XV e XVI," in C. Casanova, G. Tocci, A. Varni, and A. Vasina (eds), *Storia di Forlì* (4 vols.. Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989–92), vol. 3, pp. 211–34.

Gottschewski, A., "Eine Büste der Caterina Sforza." *Rivista d'Arte* V/1–2 (1907): 12–21.

—. *Über die Porträts der Caterina Sforza* (Strassburg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1908).

Graziani, N., and G. Venturelli, *Caterina Sforza* (Milan: dall Oglio, 1987).

—, "Fra medioevo ed età moderna: la signoria dei Riario e di Caterina Sforza," in A. Vasina, et al. (ed.), *Storia di Forlì* (4 vols., Bologna:

Nuova Alfa, 1990) vol. 2, pp. 239–61.
Greenblatt, S., *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980).
Gregorovius, F.*, History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages,* trans. A. Hamilton (8 vols., New York: Italica, 2008).
Grendler, P.F., *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
Grigioni, C., *Marco Pahnezzano* (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1956).
Grilli, A., "Dieci lettere inediti di Caterina Sforza al Capitolo di S. Cassiano di Imola," *Romagna: rivista di storia e di lettere,* VIII (1911): 313–58.
Guidotti, C.R. (ed.), *Musei civici di Imola: le ceraniiche* (Imola: Analisi, 1991).
Gundersheimer, W., *Ferrara: the Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973).
Hairston, J.L., "Skirting the Issue: Machiavelli's Caterina Sforza," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53/3 (2000): 687–712.
Hare, C., *The Most Illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Harper, 1904).
Herald, J., *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London: Humanities Press, 1981).
Hill, G.F., *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (2 vols., London: British Museum, 1930).
Hobsbawn, E., and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
Holingsworth, M., *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London: Profile Books, 2004).
Holmes, M., "Giovanni Benci's Patronage of the nunnery, Le Murate," in G. Ciappelli and P.L. Rubin (eds), *Art, Memory; and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114–34.
Jaeger, C.S., *Ennobling Love: In Search of Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
Jansen, S.L.. *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
Jardine, L., *Worldly Goods: A new history of the Renaissance* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996).
Jones, M. (ed.). *Designs on Posterity: Drawings for Medals* (London: British Art Medal Trust, 1994).
Jordan, C., "Boccaccio's In-Famous Women: Gender and Civic Virtue in

the *De mulieribus claris,* in C. Levin and J. Watson (eds), *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 25—47.

Kaftal, G.. *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978).

Kelly-Gadol, J., "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in R. Bridenthal, C. Koontz, and S. Stuard (eds), *Becoming Visible; Women in European History* (Second edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 175–201.

Kent, D., *Cosimo de 'Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

Kent, F. W., *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

King, C.E., "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian Style," *Zeitschrift fur Kimstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 372–93.

—, *Renaissance Women Patrons; Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

King, M.L., *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Klapisch-Zuber, C., *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Kuehn, T., *Law, Family & Women: Towards a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Kraye, J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1996).

Kruse, J., "Hunting. Magnificence and the Court of Leo X," *Renaissance Studies* 7/3 (1993): 243–57.

Langdon. G., *Medici Women: Portraits of Power, Love, and Betrayal from the Court of Duke Cosimo I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Langedijk, K., *The Portraits of the Medici, 15th-18th Centuries* (3 vols., Florence: SPES, 1981).

Larner, J., "Order and Disorder in Romagna, 1450–1500," in L. Martines (ed.), *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200—1500* (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 38–71.

Laureati, L. (ed.), *Lucrezia Borgia* (Ferrara: Ate, 2002).

Lawrence, C. (ed.), *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1997).

Lazzaro, C., *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).
—, and R.J. Crum (eds). *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
Levi Pisetzky, R., *Storia del costume in Italia* (5 vols,. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1964–68).
Levy, A. (ed.), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
Lindow, J., *The Renaissance Palace in Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
Litta, P., *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan: Paolo Emilio Giusti, 1819).
Liverani, G., "La ceramica in Imola," *Faenza* XLII (1956): 3–11.
Locatelli, A.. *Il Santuario del Piratello in Imola nel quinto centenario del la sua erezione (1483–1983)* (Rome: Franciscanum, 1983).
Lowe, K.J.P., "Female Strategies for Success in a Male-ordered world: The Benedictine Convent of the Le Murate in Florence in the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries," in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Women in the Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 209–21.
—, "A Matter of Piety or of Family Tradition and Custom? The Religious Patronage of Piero de' Medici and Lucrezia Tornabuoni," in A. Beyer and B. Boucher (eds). *Piero de' Medici "il Gottoso" 1416–1469* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), pp. 55–69.
Lubkin, G., *A Renaissance Court; Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).
Luciano, E., "Medals of Womenfromthe Italian Renaissance Courts: From Cecilia Gonzaga to Isabella of Aragon." PhD. diss., Indiana University, 1997.
Luzio, A. *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (Milan: L.F. Cogliati, 1913).
Lydecker, J.K. "The domestic setting of the arts in Renaissance Florence." Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1987.
Lytle, G.F., and S. Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).
Mack, C.R.*, Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
Malagola, C., *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo, detto Codro* (Bologna: Fava, 1878).
Mambelli, A., *Melozzo degli Ambrogi nel V centenario della nascità*

(Forlì:Angelo Ruffaelli, 1938).
Manaresi, A., "Caterina Sforza e il castellano d'Imola," *Romagna* X (1913): 268.
Mancini, F. "Le monete dei Riario signori di Imola e di Forlì," *Atti del Associazionie per Imola Storico Artistico* IX (1977): 93–111.
—, *Urbanistica rinascimentale a Imola da Girolamo Riario a Leonardo da Vinci, 1474–1502* (2 vols., Imola: Grafiche Galeati, 1979).
—, M. Giberti, and A. Veggiani, *Imola nel Medioevo* (2 vols., Imola: Galeati, 1990).
Marchetti Ferrante, G., *Donne belle d'Italia* (Milan: Ed. Athena, 1929).
Margadant, J.B., "Constructing Selves in Historical Perspective," in J.B. Margadant (ed.), *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 1–32.
Marinelli, L., "Arte retrospettiva; le Rocche di Imola e di Forlì." *Emporium* XX/117–118 (1904): 196–217, 273–92.
—, "Caterina Sforza alia difesa dei suoi domini della Romagna," *Attie memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna,* series VI, 22 (1931–32): 95–112.
—, *Le antiche fortezze di Romagna* (Imola: P. Galeati, 1937).
Marquand, A., *Luca della Robbia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914).
Martindale, A., *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Oueen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979).
Martines, L., *April Blood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
Martini, A*., Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente presso tutti i populi* (Turin: Loescher, 1883; reprint, Rome: E.R.A., 1976).
Masson, G., *Italian Gardens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961).
Matthews-Greico. S.F., and G. Johnson (eds). *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
Mattox, P., "Domestic sacral space in the Florentine Renaissance Palace," in M. Ajmar-Wollheim, F. Denis, and A. Matchette (eds), *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 36–51.
Mauss, M., *The Gift* (Second edition, London: Routledge, 2006).
McCorquodale, *Bronzino* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).
McIver, K.A., *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580: Negotiating Power* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Menning, C.B., *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte de Pietà of Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
Miglio, M., F. Niutta, D. Quaglioni, and C. Ranieri (eds), *Un Pontificato ed una città; Sisto IV (1471–1484)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1986).
Miguel, M., and J. Schiesari (eds), *Refiguring Woman; Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).
Milone, M.F., "Palazzo Riario-Attemps, un inedito frammento della Roma di Sisto IV e il restauro tardo-cinquecentesco di Martino Longhi," *Quaderni dell 'Instituto di storia dell' architettura* XXIV/139–50 (1977–78): 13–48.
Mirrer, L. (ed.), *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992).
Missirini, G., "Lo spettacolo in Forlì nell'età di Melozzo." *La Piè* 62/5 (1993): 210–16.
Mola, G.G., "Un nobile bolognese ministro di Caterina Sforza, signora di Forlì: Antenore Giannetti." *Strenna Storica Bolognese* IX (1959): 161–74.
Montenovesi. O., *Imola, la città di Caterina Sforza* (Milan: Sonzogno, 1927).
Morosini, M.R., *Signore e Principati; monete italiane con ritratto 1450—1796* (3 vols., Dogana, Republic of San Marino: Maggioli, 1984).
Morsiani, D.Q., *Del luogo dov'è morta la contessa Caterina Sforza* (Bologna, 1880).
Mozzarelli, C., R. Oresko, and L. Ventura (eds), *La Corte di Mantova nell'eta 'di Andrea Mantegna, 1450–1550* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997).
Muir, E., *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).
Mulryne, J.R., and E. Goldring (eds), *Court Festival of the European Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
Müntz, E., "Les collections d'antiques formees par les medicis au XVI.e siecle," *Des memories de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 35/2 (1893): 84–168.
Murphy, C.P., *The Pope's Daughter* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006).
Musacchio, J.M., *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999).
—, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008).
Narducci. E., *Li Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri* (Rome: Tipografia

Romana, 1873).
Novielli, V. (ed.), *Caterina Sforza, una donna del Cinquecento* (Imola: La Mandragora, 2000)
Oliva, F., *Vita di Caterina Sforza, Signora di Forlì* (Forlì: Casali, 1821).
Padovani, S. "Per Piero di Cosimo: un ritratto della Galleria Palatina restaurato," *Arte cristiana* 87 (1999): 267–75.
Paolucci, A., L. Prati, and S. Tumidei (eds.), *Marco Pamezzano; II Rinascimento nelle Romanga* (Milan: Silvana Editore, 2006).
Parel, J., *The Machiavellian Cosmos* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
Pasini, P.G., "Committenze Riario e della Rovere in Romagna," in S. Bottaro (ed.), *Sisto IV e Giulio II: mecenati e promotori di cultura* (Savona: Coop, 1989), pp. 175–86.
Pasolini, P.D.. *Caterina Sforza* (3 vols., Rome: Loescher, 1893).
—, *Catherine Sforza,* trans. P. Sylvester (London: William Heinemann, 1898)
—, "Caterina Sforza: nuovi documenti." *Atti e Memorie: Deputazione di storia patria per la Romagna* 15 (1897): 72–209.
—, *Caterina Sforza* (condensed ed., Florence: Barbèra, 1913).
—, *Une héroine de la Renaissance italienne: Catherine Sforza,* trans. M. Léra (Paris: Perrin et cie, 1912).
Passerini, L., "Transforming Biography: From the Claim of Objectivity to Intersubjective Plurality." *Rethinking History* 4 (2000): 413–16.
Pastor, L.F. von, *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages* (16 vols., St. Louis: B. Herder, 1923).
Patetta. F., "Di una raccolta di componimenti e di una medaglia in memoria di Alessandro Cinuzzi Senese, paggio del conte Girolamo Riario," *Bulletino senese di storia patria* 6 (1899): 151–76.
Pedrini, C. (ed.). *La Pinacoteca di Imola* (Bologna: Analisi, 1988).
Pellegrini, E., *La Biblioteque des Visconti et des Sforza dues de Milan, au XVe siecle* (Paris: Service des Publications du C.N.R.S., 1955).
Pellegrini, M., *Congiure de Romagna; Lorenzo de 'Medici e il duplice tirannicidio a Forlì e a Faenza net 1488* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1999).
Pèlissier, L.G., "Alcune documenti sconosciuti su C. Sforza," *Archivio storico italiano,* series V, XXII (1898): 322–31.
Penndorf, J. (ed.), *Frühe italienische Malerei im Lindenau-Museum Altenburg* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1998).
Pepper, S., and N. Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
Pergoli, A., "La Chiesa di S. Biagio in S. Girolamo a Forlì," *Forum Livil*

1/4 (1926): 6–22.
Perogalli, C., *Castelli e Rocche di Emilia e Romagna* (Milan: Gorlich, 1972).
Perosa, A. (ed.), *Michaelis Marulli Carmina* (Turici: In aedibus Thesauri mundi, 1951).
Petraroia, P., "'Per dar piacere a la speculatione'. Dipinti sacri e profani nella dimora di Girolamo Riario, di Francesco Soderini e degli Altemps," in F. Scoppola (ed.), *Palazzo Altemps; Indagini per il restauro delta fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome: De Luca, 1987), pp. 197–240.
Pieraccini, G., *La Stirpe de 'Medici di Cafaggiolo* (3 vols., Florence: Nardini, 1986).
Pietrangeli, C., "Villa Riario Corsini alia Lungara," *Strenna dei Romanisti* XXXIX (1978): 325–33.
Pitkin, H.F., *Fortune is a Woman* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).
Polizzotto, L., *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1492–1545* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
Pollard, J.G., *Medaglie italiane del Rinascimento net Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (3 vols., Florence, Associazione Amici del Bargello, 1984–85).
Portebois. Y., and N. Terpstra (eds), *The Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003).
Preyer, B., "Planning for visitors at Florentine palaces." *Renaissance Studies* 12/3 (1998): 357–74.
Quinterio, F., *Maiolica nell'architettura del Rinascimento italiano* (Florence: Cantini, 1991).
—, "Natura e architettura nella borrega robbiana," in G. Gentilini (ed.), *I Della Robbia e Varte nuova della scultura invetriata* (Florence: Giunti, 1998), pp. 57–85.
Randi, A., *Caterina Sforza* (Milan: Ceschina, 1951).
Reiss, S.E., and D.G. Wilkins, *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2001).
Il Restauro del chiostro Ouattrocentesco dell'Osservanza di lmola (1467—1967) (Imola: Galeati, 1968).
Ricci, C., "Il ritratto di Caterina Sforza." *Forum Livii* III/4 (1928): 5–12.
Richa, G., *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne suoi quartieri* (10 vols., Florence: PG. Viviani, 1754–1762; reprint Rome, Multigrafica Editrice, 1972).

Rinaldi, E., "Gli Ebrei in Forlì, nei secoli XIV e XV." *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna,* series 4, X (1919–20): 295–323.

Robertson, I., "The Signoria of Girolamo Riario in Imola." *Historical Studies* 15/57 (1971): 88–117.

Rodocanachi. E., *La femme italienne à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Paris: Hachette, 1907).

Rosenberg, C., *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Rowland. I.D., *From Heaven to Arcadia* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2005).

Ruysschaert, J., "Le fresque de Melozzo de l'ancienne Bibliotèque vaticane rèexamine." *Miscellanea bibliotecae apostolicae vaticane* IV(1990): 328–41.

Saalman, H., and P. Mattox, "The First Medici Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLIV (1985): 329—45.

San Juan, R., "The Court Lady's Dilemma: Isabella d'Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance." *Oxford Art Journal* 14/1 (1991): 67–78.

Santarelli, A., "I restauri degli affreschi di San Biagio in Forlì," *Arte e Storia* II/14 (1883): 108–109.

Scalini, M. (ed.), *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (Milan: Banca Toscana, 2001).

Scher, S.K. (ed.), *The Currency of Fame; Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).

Schiavo, A., "I Ritratti di Girolamo e Caterina Riario nella Pinacoteca Capitolina," *Studi Romani* 17 (1969): 315–18.

Schiesari, J., "In Praise of Virtuous Women? For a Genealogy of Gender Morals in Renaissance Italy," *Annali d'italianistica* 7 (1989): 66–87.

Schmarsow, A., *Melozzo da Forlì* (Berlin: Spemann, 1886).

Schofield, R., "Ludovico il Moro and Vigevano," *Arte Lombarda* 62 (1982): 93–140.

—, "A Humanist Description of the Architecture for the Wedding of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella d'Aragona (1489)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 213–40.

Schultz, J.A., *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Scoppola, F. (ed.), *Palazzo Altemps; Indagini per il restauro della fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome: De Luca, 1987).

—, "Memoria della casa. Architettura: dalla composizione al restauro," in F. Scoppola (ed.), *Palazzo Altemps; Indagini per il restauro della fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Altemps* (Rome, 1987), pp. 9–142.

—, *Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Altemps* (Milan: Electa, 1997).

Scott, J.W., "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91/5 (1986): 1053–75.

Shearman. J.. "The Collection of the Younger Branch of the Medici." *Burlington Magazine* 117/862 (1975): 12–27.

Simons. P.. "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye. the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture." *History Workshop* 25 (1988): 4–30.

. "Portraiture. Portrayal, and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women." in A. Brown (ed.), *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). pp. 263–311.

Smith, W., *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge. 2002).

Squarzoni, B„ "Notizie econoiniche romagnole in un manoscritto settecentesco della Vita di Caterina Sfroza di Fabio Oliva," *Studi Romagnoli* V (1954): 547–60.

Stafford. P.. "More Than a Man or Less than a Woman?: Women Rulers in Early Modern Europe." *Gender and History* 7/3 (1995): 486–90.

Starn, R„ "Seeing Culture in a Room for a Renaissance Prince." in L. Hunt (ed.). *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1989), pp. 205–32.

Strocchia. S., *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore. MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992).

Syson. L., "Reading Faces. Gian Cristoforo Romano's Medal of Isabella d'Este," in C. Mozzarelli. R. Oresko. and L. Ventura (eds). *La Corte di Mantova nell'eta' di Andrea Mantegna, 1450–1550* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997). pp. 281–94.

, and D. Thornton (eds). *Objects of Virtue* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications. 2001).

Tabanelli, M., *II Biscione e la Rosa: Caterina Sforza, Girolamo Riario e i loro primi discendenti* (Faenza: Lega. 1973).

Talvacchia. B.. *Taking Positions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Tamassia. N. "Le cronache romagnole ed emiliane dei secoli XV e XVI e i primordi del giornalismo," *Atti e* ***Memorie*** *della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le province di Romagna* series 3. XVII (1899): 213–29.

Tambini, A.. "Schede per i dipinti della Biblioteca comunale di

Faenza," ***Manfrediana*** 24 (1990): 19–22.
Temeroli. P.. "I primordi della stampa a Forli (1495–1507)," in L. Baldacchini and A. Manfron (eds). *11 libro in Romagna* (2 vols.. Florence: Olschki, 1998). vol. l.pp. 61–101.
Thornton. P.. *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York: Hany N. Abrams, 1991).
Tomas. N.R.. *The **Medici** Women* (Aldershot: Ashgate. 2003).
Touhy. T., *Herculean Ferrara; Ercole d'Este (1471–1505) and the Invention of a Ducal **Capital*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
Tumidei, S., "Melozzo da Forlì: fortuna, vicende, incontri diunartista prospettico," in M. Foschi and L. Prati (eds), *Melozzo da Forlì; La sua città e il suo tempo* (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1994), pp. 19–81.
Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale (Second edition, Florence: Centro Di, 1980).
Valone, C., "Roman Matrons as Patrons," in C.A. Monson (ed.), *The Crannied Wall* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 49–72.
—, "Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern *Rome,*" *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 108–31.
—, "Architecture as a public voice for women in sixteenth-century Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 15/3 (2001): 301–27.
Vecchiazzani, M., *Historia di Forlimpopoli* (Rimini: Il Simbeni, 1647).
Venturelli, P., *Gioielli e Gioiellieri Milanesi* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1996).
Verheyen, E., *The Paintings in the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New York: New York University, 1971).
Verrua, P., *Il "Lamento" di Girolamo Riario* (Padua: Giovanni Battista Randi, 1906).
Viroli, G., *La Pinacoteca Civica di Forlì* (Forlì: Cassa dei rispanni di Forlì, 1980).
—, *Chiese di Forlì* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1994).
— (ed.), *Palazzi di Forlì* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1995).
—, *Pittura a Forlì dal Duecento al Quattrocento* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998).
Volpe, G., *Rocche e fortificazion del Ducato di Urbino (1444–1502)* (Urbino: Arti Grafiche, 1982).
Watanabe-O'Kelly, H., "Early Modern European Festivals—Politics and Performance, Event and Record," in J.R. Mulryne and E. Goldring (eds), *Court Festival of the European Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 15–25.

Weddle, S., "Enclosing Le Murate: The Ideology of Enclosure and the Architecture of a Florentine Convent, 1390–1597." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1997.

Weil-Garris, K., and J. D'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu,*" in H. A. Millon (ed.). *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1980), pp. 45–123.

Weinstein, D., "Review of E. Breisach, *Caterina Sforza: A Renaissance Virago*," *American Historical Review* 74/2 (1968): 655.

Weisner, M.E., *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Welch, E., *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

—, "Public Magnificence and Private Display: Giovanni Pontano's *De Splendore* (1498) and the domestic arts, *"Journal of Design History* 15/4 (2002): 211–27.

—, *Shopping in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

Winner, M., "Papa Sisto IV quale *exemplum virtutis magnificentiae* nell'affresco di Melozzo da Forlì," in A. Esch and C.L. Frommel (eds), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), pp. 171–96.

Wisch, B., and S.S. Munshower (eds), *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (2 vols., University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

Woods-Marsden, J., "How Quattrocento princes used art: Sigisinondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini and *cose militari,*" *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989): 387–414.

—, "Images of Castles in the Renaissance: Symbols of 'Signoria'/ Symbols of Tyranny," *Journal* 48/2 (1989): 130–37.

Yuen, T., "The 'Biblioteca Graeca:' Castagno, Alberti and Ancient Sources," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970): 725–36.

—, "Illusionistic mural decoration of the early Renaissance in Rome." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1972.

Zaggia, S., *Una Piazza per la città del principe* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1999).

Zaghini, F., "Committenza e spiritualità forlivese," in A. Paolucci, L. Prati, and S. Tumidei (eds.), *Marco Pamezzano, Il Rinascimento nelle Romanga* (Milan: Silvana, 2006), pp. 161–72.

Zambrano, P., and J.K. Nelson, *Filippino Lippi* (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2004). Zama, R., *Gli Zaganelli* (Rimini: Luisè, 1994).

Zanetti, G., *Nuova raccolta delle monete e zecche d'Italia* (5 vols., Bologna: Per L. dalla Volpe, 1775–86).

Index

(References to illustrations are in *italic*)
Agostino di Brescia, Fra 228
Alberti, Leon Battista 4, 196, 205
  On Architecture 78–80, 88, 90, 96, 103, 105, 117
  On the Family 15, 79
Albertini, Lodovico 210, 223n111, 269n23
Alexander the Great 31
Alfonso I of Naples 78
Allegrini, Francesco, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza* 248–50, *249*
ambassadorial reports, nature of 14, 22–3, 28, 49, 151
Annalena convent, Florence 212
Antonio di Melozzo 154
Bagnara di Romagna (fortress) 96, *115,* 116, 122n61
Baldraccani, Antonio 208
Barbara, Francesco 134, 157, 177
bartering 157, 161
Battuti Neri 41
Bellante, Lucio 210
Bellini, Giovanni 253
beneficence (*benificenza*) 79, 94, 100–102, 117, 187, 189, 199, 212
Benelli, Sem 263, 266, 273n99
Bentivoglio family
  Annibale 158
  Giovanni II 163, 229
Bernardi, Andrea 50, 51, 55, 103, 104, 105, 188, 190–91, 193, 201, 261, 265
Boccabello, Emilio 206
Boccaccio, Giovanni 208
Boccalini, Traiano 245
Boland, Bridget 65
Bologna 22, 39, 229, 231, 236, 251
  Bentivoglio Chapel, San Giacomo Maggiore 163
Bona of Savoy 17, 21–5, 39, 57, 129, 155, 177, 231
Bonaccorsi, Biagio, request for a portrait of Caterina Sforza (1499) 253
books and manuscripts 150
Borgia family
  Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) 28, 59–61, 72n126, 211, 229
  Cesare 14, 59–60, 116, 211, 213, 231, 261, 265–6
  Lucrezia 39, 76, 189, 229, 266
borrowing and lending goods 134, 157, 159, 164
Bossi, Gianluigi 22–4, 26, 65n28, 129, 137–8
Botticelli 259
Braschi, Angelo 252
Brogi, Cecilia 252
Bregno, Andrea, *Tomb of Pietro Riario* 180
Breisach, Ernst 251, 259, 264

Brensa, Giovanni da 92–3
Broccardi, Giovanni Francesco 199
Bronzino, Agnolo, *Portrait of Maria Salviati* 244–5
Bubano (fortress) 114–16
Burckhardt, Jacob 16
Burriel, Antonio 185, 201, 251
Caraffa Pico della Mirandola, Giovamia 178
Carissimi, Luca 231
Carl, Doris 240
carpets 149
Carpi, palace of Alberto III Pio 108, 163, *163*
Castiglione, Baldassare 15
Catherine of Alexandria, Saint, image of 259
Calvalcanti, Ginevra 255
ceramic tiles and wares *106,* 107—11, *107, 108, 109,* 132, 141, 146, *147,* 161–63, *163*
ceremony, courtly 14–16
Charles VIII of France 49, 52, 59, 112, 115
  portrait medal by Niccolò Florentine 45, *46, 47*, 162
Clare, Saint 184, 203
clothing 19, 133–7, *135,* 151–4, 164, 261
Cobelli, Leone 48, 111, 199
coins 34, 54, 57
  minted by
  – Caterina Sforza 50–51, *50*, 55, 71n115, 73n132, 77
  – Girolamo Riario 30–32, *31,* 34, 51
  – Lodovico Sforza 57
Colonna family 25
Compagnon, Marsilio 213
Corradini, Elena 252
Cotignola 35
credenza/e 87, 130
Cuppano, Lucantonio 211
decorative or "minor" arts, status of 132–3
Delia Robbia workshop, Florence 110, 125n98, 162–3
  pavement tiles in:
  – Bentivoglio Chapel, San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna 163
  – Caterina Sforza's palace at the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì *106, 107, 108*, 107–10, 125n98, 162–3
  – Chapel of the Beato Bartolo, San Agostino, San Gimignano 107
  – Chapel of the Company of San Lorenzo, Collegiata di Sant' Andrea, Empoli 109, *109*
  – Medici Casa Vecchia and new Palazzo Medici, Florence 108–9, 162
  – Palace of Alberto III Pio, Carpi 108, 163, *163*
dogs 22, 154–5
Dozza (fortress) 96, 115–16
Eleonora of Aragon 21–2, 39, 133, 155, 189
Eleonora of Toledo 39, 238
Elizabeth I, Queen of England 245

Empoli, Chapel of the Company of San Lorenzo, Collegiata di Sant' Andrea 109, *109*
Este family 80, 117, 189, 203
Alfonso I 157
Borso 78, 159
Ercole I 21, 29, 90, 104–105, 114, 157–9
Isabella 3, 6, 39, 54–5, *54,* 103, 110, 159, 161, 255, 257, 266
Lucrezia 158–9
Faenza 36, 51, 163, 230, 260
Feo family
Carlo (initially called Bernardino) 49, 117, 154, 231, 241, 243, 268n19
Giacomo
– assassination of 49–50, 123n73
– burial of 190–91, 218n48, 228
– family chapel (Feo Chapel) 191, 193–9, *194, 195, 197,* 259–60
– relationship with Caterina Sforza 48–9, 51–2, 104, 111, 153–4, 156, 260, 263, 266
Tommaso 42–3, 103–104, 231
Ferdinand I of Naples 22
Ferrara 5, 21, 35–6, 59, 78, 80, 90, 103, 105, 155, 187, 189, 204
Ferretti, Nicoló 206
Filarete (Antonio Averlino) 90
Fiorentino, Niccoló 161–2
portrait medals for
— Charles VIII of France (1494–95) 45, *46*, *47*
— Riario, Ottaviano (c. 1498) 55, *56*
— Sforza, Caterina (c. 1488) *42, 43*, 43–5, 240, 246
— Sforza, Caterina (c. 1498) 53–4, *53*
Florence 36
Annalena convent 212
Castello, Medici villa 62, 117
Medici Casa Vecchia 108–9, 117, 162, 227
Murate convent 203, 212, 214–15, 228, 230, 232, 236
Palazzo Medici (new Medici palace) 103, 109
San Girolanio (Fiesole) 228
Sant' Agata 212
Santa Lucia 228
Santa Maria dei Fiori (Cathedral) 228
Trebbio, Medici villa 62, 117
food and feasts 26–7, 131–2, 138, 141, 158
Foresti, Jacopo (Fra Filippo da Bergamo) 661)44, 75, 130, 153, 177–8, 206, 208–209, 234, 237, 239, 260
Forlí 28, 29–31, 36, 37–41, 163
palace on the main piazza where the Riario resided (later called the Palazzo Pubblico, now Palazzo Comunale) 75, *97, 98*, 98–102, 113
Porta Cotogni 29, 40
Rocca di Ravaldino 49–51, 71n115, 77, *97,* 98, *99, 100*, 116
– Caterina Sforza on ramparts (April 1488) 39–40, 236–7
– Caterina Sforza's palace, garden and hunting park at 75, 102–13, 116, 123n76, 162–3, 210

– fall to Cesare Borgia 60
– soldiers' barracks and improvements by Caterina Sforza 112–13
– updates by Girolamo Riario 99–100
San Francesco 187, 203
San Girolamo 187, 190, 193
– Feo Chapel 191, 193–9, *194*, *195*, *197*, 259–60
San Mercuriale 40, 185–7, *186*, 199–201
Santa Chiara 36, 184–5, 203
Santa Croce (Cathedral) 41, 180, 183–5, *183*, *184*, *185*, 190, *200*, 201, 208
– Chapel of the Madonna della Ferita 201
Santa Maria della Ripa 187, 201–203, 210
Forlimpopoli 49, 71n115, 114–15
fortresses and castles 51, 76, 79, 112, 114, 117. Specific fortresses and castles are listed by location (city).
Fortunati, Fra Francesco di Tommaso 199, 214, 231–2, 234
Francia, Francesco, lost portrait of Isabella d'Este 159
Fraser, Antonia 266
funerals 16
Gambello, Vettor di Antonio *32*, *33*, 67n57
gardens 83, 84, 92, 94, 98, 103–5, 113, 210
Gariboldi, Frate Bernardino di 210
Gerardi, Giovanni Andrea de' 46
Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *Birth of the Virgin*, Santa Maria Novella, Florence 261
gifts and gifting 19, 23, 25, 27, 31, 34, 45, 61, 111, 134–6, 138, 141, 146, 155–9, 161–2, 168, 203, 210
Giovanna II of Naples 190
glass 145–6, *145*, 161, 164
Gobbi, Dario, *The Capture of Caterina Sforza* 261–2, *262*
Gonzaga family 117
Elisabetta 6, 208
Francesco II 29, 37, 155, 158, 229
Giovanni Francesco (Cardinal) 25
Gottschewski, Adolf 255
Goya, Francisco, *Third of May 1808* 261–2
Graziani, Natale 252
Grigioni, Carlo 253, 256–7
Hairston, Julia 237
Hebrea, Anna 211
horses 22, 137, 154–6, 158, 164
hunt, the 27, 49, 154–6
hunting and riding paraphernalia 154–6
Imola 19–21, 22–25, 29, 36–7, 41, *91* 163
"El Cappello" 94
Palazzo Comunale 23, 92, 129
Palazzo Riario (now Sersanti) 92–3, *93*, 96
Porta del Piolo 96, 113
Rocca Sforzesca, Imola 92, 95–7, *95*, *96*, 116
– Paradiso palace 96–7, 122n63
San Cassiano (Cathedral) 94, 180–3, *182*, 190, 208

San Francesco 180–1, 216nl9
San Lorenzo 94
San Nicolò 180–81
Santa Maria del Piratello 201, *202*
Santa Maria delle Grazie (the Osservanza) 180–1, 203, 216nl6, 220n78
inventories
Caterina Sforza's (including Riario goods) 4, 7–8, 130, 134, 138–9, 141–57, 159, 164–6, 206, 209–210, 230, 232
Medici family's 74nl51, 109, 231, 240, 243, 255, 257
James the Greater, Saint 195–9
jewels and gems 19, 23, 25, 34, 80, 130, 132–6, 138, 143, 145–6, 150–53, 156–7, 161, 166, 246
Kelly, Joan 2–3, 227, 265–6
kitchen wares and utensils 146–8
Landriani family
Bianca 42, 220n78, 231
Giampietro 37, 156
Lucrezia 17, 37
Landucci, Luca 55
Langedijk, Karla 257
Leonardo da Vinci
Drawing of Isabella d'Este 255, 257
Plan of Imola *91*
Lippi, Filippino, *Adoration of the Magi* (1496) 243
lost portrait of Caterina Sforza 166, 240
lost portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici 166, 240
Livia, wife of Augustus 34
loans (of money) 141, 157, 172nl02
Lorenzo, Beato 184
Lorenzo di Credi 253
Portrait of a Young Woman with Jasmine 258, 259
Loreto, Holy House 194–5, 214
Luciano, Eleonora 252
Machiavelli, Niccolò
accounts of Caterina Sforza's actions at the Rocca di Ravaldino 40, 227, 236–8, 240, 252, 263
diplomatic mission to Forlí (1499) 53, 236, 253
The Prince 15–16, 30, 81–2, 102, 112, 117, 132, 133
Magistrato dei Pupilli, Florence 61–2, 243
Magliana (papal hunting lodge) 155
magnificence (*magnificenza*) 16, 75, 78–81, 90, 94, 97, 100–101, 117, 131, 133, 137, 154
Malatesta family 117
Pandolfo 29
Sigismundo 51
Manfredi family 24
Astorre 210, 230
Ottaviano 193, 218n54
Mantegna, Andrea, *Camera Picta*, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua 89

Life of Saint James, Ovetari Chapel, Eremitani, Padua 197–8
Mantua 103
Marchesi family
Antonio 92, 96, 122n61
Francesco (called Cecco) 92, 93, 122n61, 181, 183
Giorgio 92, 96, 100, 122n61, 181
Margadant, Jo Burr 3
marriage practices 13, 17, 19
Martini, Francesco di Giorgio 90, 117
Marullo, Michele 208
Medici family 232, 234, 236–8, 240–1, 243, 245–8, 250–1, 257, 260, 263, 266
Clement VII (Giulio) 241
Cosimo I 49, 117, 236–8, 245
Francesco I 241
Giovanni di Giovanni (originally called Lodovico, later called Giovanni delle Bande Nere) 52, 211, 228, 236, 238–41, 243
– guardianship of 49, 61–2, 117, 212, 231–2, 238, 241, 243
Giovanni di Pierfrancesco (il Popolano) 59, 61–2, 107, 154, 157, 161, 166, 173n116, 208, 238, 242–3, *242*
– death and burial 53, 123n73, 192–3, 218n50
– relationship with Caterina Sforza 48–9, 51–3, 123n73, 192–3, 218n50, 240, 243, 250, 266
Giulia di Alessandro 245
Pope Leo X (Giovanni) 236, 238, 241
Leopoldo 245
Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco (il Popolano) 5 1–2, 61, 92, 107–8, 123n73, 154, 162, 166, 208, 212, 231, 241
Lorenzo (the Magnificent) 37–9, 52, 102, 232, 238, 261
Piero di Cosimo (the Gouty) 109
Piero di Lorenzo (the Unfortunate) 52
Medici palaces and villas
Casa Vecchia, Florence 108–9, 117, 162, 227
Castello 62, 117
Palazzo Medici (new Medici palace), Florence 103, 109
Trebbio 62, 117
Melozzo da Forlì 83
frescoes in the sacristy of Saint Mark, Holy House, Loreto 194–5
frescoes in the Sala dei Notabili, Palazzo Riario, Rome 86–89, *87-8, 140,* 205
Life of Saint James the Greater, Feo Chapel, San Girolamo, Forlì 193–9
Pope Sixtus IV appoints Bartolomeo Platina Prefect of the Vatican Library 17–18, *18,* 205
Menghi, Gian Lodovico 92, 95–6
Mercurialis, Saint 185, 187
Milan 5, 17–19, 21–2, 35, 37
Castello di Porta Giovio (now Sforzesco) 96
Mocenigo, Giovanni (Doge of Venice) 35
Monte dei Pietà, Forlì 187–8
Montefeltro, Federico da 45, 80
Palazzo Ducale, Urbino 103

Mordano (fortress) 115–16
Naldini, Giovanni Battista, *Portrait of Maria Salviati and Giovanni delle Bande Nere* 245
Nimiai, Antonio dei 208
Oliva, Fabio 103, 104, 105, 250–51
Ordelaffi family 36, 38, 40, 92, 97–100
  Antonio Maria 29, 48
  Pino III 29, 98, 100, 209
Orsini family 25
Pacioli, Luca 83, 205
Padovani, Serena 257
palaces 75–6, 85. Specific palaces are listed by location (city) and by patron.
Palmezzano, Marco 256–7
  Crucifixion with Saints, Santa Maria della Ripa, Forlì 220n73
  Life of Saint James the Greater, Feo Chapel, San Girolamo, Forlì 193–9
  Madonna and Child with Saints, San Girolamo, Forlì 243–4, *244*
Pandone, Porcellio 206
Pasolini, Pier Desiderio, *Caterina Sforza* 201, 251–2, 260, 264
patronage, in general 2–9, 78–80, 178–9, 205
  women's 2–9, 80, 188–9, 266
pawning 141, 156–9, 166
Pazzi conspiracy 38
Peppi, Guido 30
Philip II of Macedonia 31
Piancaldoli (fortress) 96
Piccoli, Gabriele 213–4
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 210
Piero della Francesca, *Allegorical Triumphs of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza 44,* 45
Piero di Cosimo, *Portrait of a Woman* 255–7, *256*
Pio, Alberto III of Carpi 108, 163
  palace at Carpi 108, 163, *163*
Pontano, Giovanni 4, 16, 78–80, 90, 131–3, 137, 142, 154, 179
Pontormo, Jacopo, Portraits of Maria Salviati 244–5, *244*
portrait medals 33–4, 67n59, 245 of:
  – Charles VIII of France, by Niccolò Florentine 45, *46, 47,* 162
  – Este, Isabella, by Cristoforo Romano (c. 1499) 54–55, *54*
  – Malatesta, Sigismundo 51
  – Riario, Ottaviano, by Niccolò Florentine) (c. 1498) 55, *56*
  – Selvi, Antonio (1739) 245–8, *246*, *247*, *248*
  –Sforza, Caterina, by
    Florentine), Niccolò (c. 1488) 42–5, *42*, *43,* 161–2, 240
    Florentine, Niccolò (c. 1498) 53–4, *53,* 72n128, 162
  – Unknown artisan (c. 16th century) 233–4, *233, 235*
  – Unknown artisan (Gambello?) (c. 1480–84) 32–35, *32, 33,* 67n57
portraiture 34
Ravenna 35
regents and regencies, female 38–9, 41, 47–8, 54–55
religious paraphernalia 149–51

Riario family 23
Benedetto Balear Sforza 61
Bianca 28, 154, 211–12, 230–31, 240–41
Cesare 28, 59, 61, 74nl50, 154, 229, 234
Cornelia 212, 230–31
Faustina 193
Francesco (called Sforza and Sforzino) 28, 154, 229, 234
Galeazzo 28, 212, 217n45, 229–30, 234–6
Giovanni Livio 28, 267n4
Girolamo 18, *18,* 260
– architectural projects, Forli 97–101
– architectural projects, Imola 90–97
– assassination of 37–9, 101–102
– burial 40–2, 187, 190
– children, births 28, 66n44
– coins 30–32, *31,* 34, 51
– conspiracies against 36, 101
– engagement and marriage to Caterina Sforza 19, 21–2, 25–8
– humanist interests 205–206
– Palazzo Riario, Rome, building of 81–90
– pawning of Caterina Sforza's jewels 152–3
– political offices and titles 14, 17–21
– Sixtus IV's death, reaction to 37
– religious patronage 36, 179–88
– territories in the Rontagna, acquisition of 18–21, *20,* 28–30
tomb monument 190, 217n45, 268n9
– triumphal entrance into Forlì (1481) 29–30
– travel to the Romagna (1483) 36
– travel to Venice (1481) 35
Giulia 212, 230
Giulio 190, 217n45
Oltaviano 5, 28, 31, 49, 60, 177, 206, 212, 234, 260
–apartments in the palace at the Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì 110–12
– clothing 154
– coins *50,* 55, 57, 71n115
– coming of age 52–5
– correspondence with Caterina Sforza 61, 74nl50
– inheritance from Caterina Sforza 229–30
– inheritance of the Palazzo Riario, Rome 83, 230, 268n11
– investiture with Riario territories (April 1488) 40–41, 190, 199
– military contracts 52–3, 55, 72nl24
– portrait medal by Niccolò Fiorentino 55, *56*
– religious orders, taking of 229
Pietro (Cardinal of Sail Sisto) 18, 19, 21–2, 129, 134, 139, 142, 145, 180, 205–6
Raffaele (Cardinal of San Giorgio) 18, 45–6, 48–9, 52, 59–61, 81, 89, 139, 181, 193, 205, 230
Scipione 231
Riolo Terme (fortress) 96, 114, 116
Rome 16, 21–2, 25–9, 36–7, 60–61, 78, 81–90, 93–4, 136–40, 155, 178, 180, 205–

206
Cancelleria (Palace of Raffaele Riario) 61, 89
Castel Sant'Angelo 37, 38, 60, 89, 112
Palazzo Belvedere 60
Palazzo Capranica 84
Palazzo dei Penitenzieri 84
Palazzo della Rovere (at Santi Apostoli) 84
Palazzo Orsini 26, 137
Palazzo Riario (now Altemps) 37, 82–90, *83-4, 86-8,* 102, 140–41, *140,* 205, 230
Palazzo Venezia 84
Piazza Navona 26, 27, 81
Saint Peter's 25–6
San Giovanni Battista dei Genovesi 187
Sant'Agostino 81
Sant'Apollinare 81
Santa Maria del Popolo 180
Santa Maria della Pace 81
Santi Apostoli 180
Romano, Giulio, *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* 88, *128*, 129
Rossi (di San Secondo) family
Angela 241
Bianca Riario, wife of Troilo de' Rossi. *See* Riario, Bianca.
Giovangirolamo 241
Pier Maria 231, 241
Troilo 230–1, 240
Rovere family
Antonio Basso 25
Felice 266
Francesco Maria 229
Giovanni Basso 25
Girolamo Basso 81, 194
Pope Julius II (Giuliano) 18, 61, 84, 116, 205, 229
Maria di Giovanni (wife of Galeazzo Riario) 230
Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco) 17–19, *18,* 21–6, 28, 30, 36–7, 67n57, 78, 81, 82, 88, 90, 94, 199, 205, 234, 263, 264
Rowland, Ingrid 266
Rucellai, Giovanni 78
Salviati family
Jacopo 231
Maria 232, 243–5, *244*
San Benedetto convent, Urbino 203
San Gimignano, Chapel of the Beato Bartolo, San Agostino 107
San Piero in Bagno 53, 192, 123n73
Savona 17, 21, 37
Savonarola, Girolamo 178, 204
correspondence with Caterina Sforza 4, 203–204
Schiavo, Armando 259
Segni, Antonio, *impresa* of Caterina Sforza 245
self-fashioning 1, 6, 9, 15–16, 131–2

Selvi, Antonio, portrait medals of Caterina Sforza 245–8, *246*, *247*, *248*
Semiramide, Queen of Assyria 208, 222n101
serial production 161–3
Sforza family 32, 35, 39, 50, 61, 212
Anna 147
Bianca di Lodovico 152
Caterina
– attempts to regain Riario territories (after 1501) 61, 214
– battle with Cesare Borgia 59–60, 105, 116, 208
– biographies of 208–9, 250–53, 264–7
– burial in Murate convent 62, 214–15, 228, 269n28
– burial of Giacomo Feo 190–93, 218n48, 228
– burial of Girolamo Riario 40–42, 187, 190
– children, births and names 28, 66n44
– clothing and jewels 19, 23, 25, 53, 134–7, 151–4, 157, 166, 261
– coins 50, 50–51, 55, 71n115, 73nl32, 77
– collection of books 209–210
— collection of portrait medals 166n
– command of Castel Sant'Angelo (1484) 37, 89, 112, 264
– command of Rocca di Ravaldino, Forlì (April 1488) 39–40, 101, 112, 236–7
– correspondence with Girolamo Savonarola 203–204
– guardianship of Giovanni di Giovanni de'Medici 49, 61–2, 117, 230–2, 238, 241, 243
– death 62, 214–15
– dowry and counter-dowry 19, 134–6, 229–30
– engagement to Girolamo Riario 17–19, 63nl4
– Feo, Giacomo, relationship with 48–9, 51–2, 104, 111, 153–4, 156, 260, 263, 266
– gift of meteor to 210
– Holy House of Loreto, desire to go to the 214
– humanist and intellectual interests 206–11
– imprisonment in the Castel Sant'Angelo (1500–1501) 60–61, 199
– inventories of goods 130, 134, 138–9, 141–57, 159, 164–6, 209–210, 230, 232
– Jews, invitation to, to lend money in Forlì 188
– last will and testament 227–33
– love affairs 48–9, 51–3, 189, 218n54
– Medici, Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de', relationship with 48–9, 51–3, 123n73, 192–3, 218n50, 240, 243, 250, 266
– Murate convent, Florence, relationship with 203, 212
– musical interests 210
– nuptial ceremonies in Rome 25–8
– patronage of the Feo Chapel 193, 198–9
– pawning of goods 141, 151–3, 156–9, 164–6, 174n134
– portrait in Jacopo Foresti's biography 76–7, 77
– portraits, lost and misidentified 240, 253–61, *254*, *256*, *258*, *261*, 270n38
– portraits, posthumous 233–4, *233*, *235*, 238–43, *239*, *242*, 245–50, *246*, *247*, *248*, *249*, 260–62, *260*, *262*
– portrai medals. *See* portrait medals, of Caterina Sforza.
– post-regency years in Florence 61–2, 164–6, 116–17, 211–15

– rape by Cesare Borgia, possible 265–6
– recipes, beauty, health and alchemical 210–11
– religious patronage 188–90, 199–204, 212, 214–15
– Rocca di Ravaldino, palace, garden and limiting park at 75, 102–13, 116, 123n76, 162–3, 210
– rumor of attempt to poison Alexander VI 60, 211
– remarriage, possibility of 48–9, 53, 111–12, 189, 191–2, 243
– seal (regency-era) 55–7, *57*
– soldiers' barracks, building of 112–13
– travel to Venice (1481) 35, 146
– triumphal entrance into Forlì (1481) 29, 139
– triumphal entrance into Imola 22–4, 136–8
–triumphal procession in Forlì (1488) 40–42, 187, 199
– wedding gifts (1477) 138–9
Galeazzo Maria 17–19, 21–2, 37, 75, 96
Giangaleazzo Maria 35–6, 57, 152
Lodovico Maria 40, 45, 49, 52, 57, 59, 60, 157
Muzio Attendolo 35
silver wares 23, 129–32, *131,* 134, 135, 137, 138–51, *143,* 157, 58–9, 161, 164–6, *165*
Simonetta, Giovanni 57, *58*
Solarolo (fortress) 116
Spinelli, Niccolò, called Fiorentino. *See* Fiorentino, Niccolò.
splendor *(splendore)* 117, 130–4, 138, 142, 154, 159
Stafford, Ann 273n99
Tabanelli, Mario 252
Tambini, Anna 261
tapestries, wall hangings, and fine textiles 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 141, 148–9, 157–61, 164–6
Titian, *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* 257
Tornabuoni, Lucrezia 188, 261
Tossignano (fortress) 96
tournaments 30, 138, 153–6
Tribunale di Mercanzia, Florence 62
triumphal entries 13–16, 21–2, 24–6, 29–30, 40–41, 59–60, 73n140
triumphal or victory carts 26, 30, 45
Urbino
Palazzo Ducale 103
San Benedetto convent 203
Urceo, Antonio 209
Vaiani, Lorenzo (called Lo Sciorino), *Portrait of Caterina Sforza and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici* 241–3, *242*
variety 142
Vasari, Giorgio, *Portrait of Caterina Sforza* 238–41, *239*
veils 44, 53–4, 76, 153, 162, 198, 204
Venice 35–6
Venturelli, Gabriella 252
Visconti, Bianca Maria 17, 177
Vitelli, Vitello 241

weddings 13, 16, 19
Weinstein, Donald 227
widows and widowhood 38, 41, 47–8, 70n98, 153, 243
Yoshida, Sunao 263
Zaganelli da Cotignola, Francesco and Bernardino 257
lost portrait of Caterina Sforza 240, 270n38